NEGRO HISTORY WEEK: A 4-PAGE TRIBUTE TO W.E.B. DuBOIS AT NINETY pp. 7-10

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Tunisia massacre jolts world; talks at summit spurred

By Kumar Goshal

THE WEEK OF FEB. 2-8 may go down in history as a fateful week. Within that week these things happened:

- British Prime Minister Macmillan dared to differ with Washington on conditions for a summit meeting.
- Secy. of State Dulles, in a belated reply to Lord Russell's Nov. 23 letter in the London **New Statesman**, said that Moscow's belief in "force and violence" made it impossible for peace-loving Washington to discuss disengagement.
- French bombers slaughtered innocent Tunisians; the planes were supplied by the U.S. with Dulles' approval.
- A voice in the wilderness of the U.S. Senate made a far-reaching criticism of the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policy.

THE BIG PUSH: The hesitant Macmillan was given a rude shove by rapidly-uniting British public opinion, and by a new campaign for nuclear disarmament launched by Bertrand Russell and ten other famous British men and women of science, letters and religion. While recommending a preliminary foreign ministers' conference as demanded by Washington, Macmillan told Soviet Premier Bulganin that he would agree to a summit meeting if an agenda were set through "diplomatic exchanges."

But the U.S. still insisted on a prior foreign ministers' conference, although Dulles' letter to the **New Statesman** (2/8) and his past and present attitudes foredoomed it to failure.

The Russell letter—to President Eisenhower and Soviet CP First Secy. Khrushchev—urged a top-level meeting with

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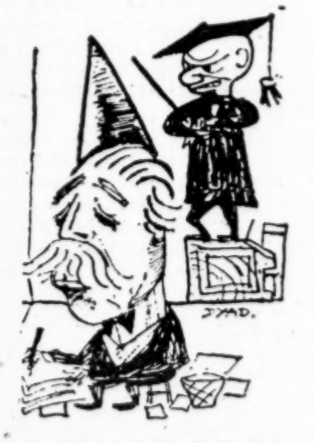
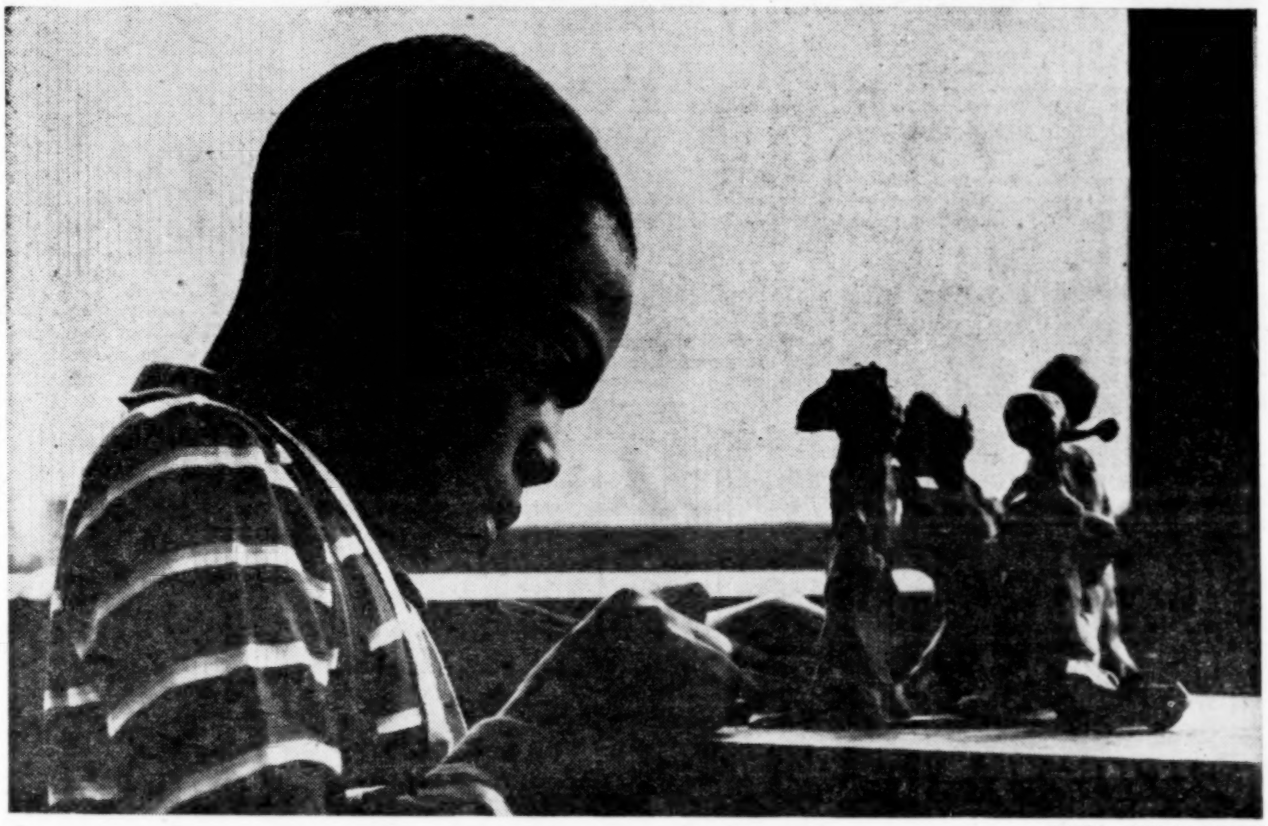


Dyad in London Daily Worker
"Write 'Summit Talks' 50 times."



Guardian photo by Bernard

THIS IS NEGRO HISTORY WEEK
And a little boy carves a future which will have one word over its gateway: "Equality"

PEACE SHIP OFF TO BOMB TEST AREA

The Golden Rule sets sail

AT NOON ON FEB. 10 the Golden Rule hoisted sail in San Pedro and headed west across the Pacific to the "danger zone" where the U.S. plans to stage its spring tests of nuclear weapons. The 30-foot ketch is due to make Hawaii in three weeks and reach the Eniwetok area early in April when the tests are scheduled.

Its mission is to stop the tests by defying U.S. authorities to blast it and its four-man crew, or at least risk showering them with radioactive dust. If the tests go ahead on schedule it is hoped that the cruise of the Golden Rule—whatever may happen to it—will stir Americans to new protest.

Captain of the vessel is Albert Bigelow, 51, an architect and painter of Cos Cob, Conn., a former Navy officer who saw combat service in the Pacific. He thereafter became a pacifist believing only in non-resistance and a "foreign policy of love." He regards the testing of nuclear weapons as a war "against unborn children."

"SOMETHING TO LIVE": Sailing with him are: William Reed Huntington, 41, also an architect, a conscientious objector in World War II, active in the American Friends Service Committee; George Willoughby, 43, exec. secy. of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; and David Gale, 25, active in the Chicago office of the American Friends Service Committee.

All are Quakers and all were involved in the demonstration against the tests in Nevada last year. The expedition has been organized by a committee known as Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, a national organization with headquarters at 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.

The purpose of the expedition was summed up by Gale: "The biggest threat to humanity is not the difference between East and West, but the common willingness of both sides to rely on violence. . . . Non-violence, to me, is an attitude toward people. It consists of the realization of the worth of all individuals, which comes only when one realizes his own responsibilities and the worth of his own actions. Non-violence is not something to preach, but something to live."

PRAY AT PIER: On the day before the

(Continued on Page 14)

THE WAR AGAINST CHILDREN

N.Y. schools toss out "difficult" students

By Elmer Bendiner

NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL officials last week ruled that for an estimated 10,000 "difficult" children, compulsory education laws need not apply. Police and prison officials promptly said they had no room for those the school outlawed. A judge said that the bitter resentful children who came through the courts would have to be sent back to the streets. Budget makers seemed readier to appropriate money for prisons than for schools. And seven of the city's "difficult" children, ranging from 15 to 18 years old, sat in a courtroom and heard a District Attorney call for their deaths.

As progressive educators took alarm from the spectacle of collapsing educational authority in New York, "get-tough" advocates around the country cheered and white supremacists, North and South, seized upon the mess to draw a false moral.

FALSE THEORY: Sen. Herman E. Talmadge (D-Ga.), in a speech on the U.S. Senate floor, "sympathized" with Brooklyn, but Sen. Javits (R-N.Y.) denounced his "crocodile tears." Underlying the remarks of Talmadge, editorials in some Southern newspapers and the tough talk of some Northerners was the theme that the difficulty was racial, and that the problem lay in school integration. The theory flew in the face of the truth: that New York's schools are far from integrated and that Negro and white children are found among the "difficult" and the victims:

the delinquency crisis in New York boiled over in recent weeks. There had been a series of crimes by school children, some in school buildings, many outside. They included rape, robbery, stabbings, assaults and gang warfare. The press told the story luridly, referring to children in trouble as "bad actors," "hoods," "troublemakers."

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On our 1958 campaign for 10,000 new GUARDIAN subscribers

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☐ Send me a free bundle of 3 GUARDIANS weekly until further notice, to show around.

☐ Send me a supply of $1 introductory sub blanks and business reply envelopes.

☐ Reserve a copy of Vito Marcantonio's book "I Vote My Conscience" for me, as offered on p. 6.

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REPORT TO READERS

The 16-pager

LEST ANY READER GET ANY RELAXED NOTIONS, let us report that this 16-page issue of the GUARDIAN is not a sign of long-green abundance on East Fourth Street. Rather, it is compounded of two noble elements:

- The 90th birthday on Feb. 23 of our favorite and most distinguished contributor, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois—an event which we could not let pass without special notice (see pp. 7-10).
- A most understanding and cooperative printer.

To these elements add the journalistic abundance provided by an ever-alert staff at home and abroad, and you have the full picture of how hard it is to squeeze ourselves into 12 pages each week.

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK is a good time to take special note of the newest member of the GUARDIAN editorial staff, Louis E. Burnham, whose fresh and discerning articles you've been reading for the last couple of months. Some of you will remember him as editor of the late Negro monthly **Freedom**; others as an active campaigner for the Progressive Party in the South. While we pride ourselves on the fact that there has been so little turnover in the loyal GUARDIAN staff since we began to publish, we also feel the stimulation of this new voice in our midst—and we're sure you do too.

This is a good week also to tell you of some of the things that are in the works in general. Our one-man road companies are taking off from New York even before there's a hint of a bud on the forsythia hereabouts. As you read this, many of you in the Detroit, Chicago and Minneapolis areas will have had a sitdown with our GM, John T. McManus. On Feb. 14 Lou Burnham will be speaking in Washington; and on March 23 Kumar Goshal will be in Boston.

Elmer Bendiner is preparing a series on the crisis in American education. Victor Perlo, our contributing economist, is working on a piece analyzing the President's Budget Message and the Economic Report in relation to the recession. From our correspondents abroad we will be getting some frank reporting on the not-so-quiet revolt taking place against cold war infexibility—sometimes known as Dullesitis, a hitherto incurable disease.

WE HAVE ALWAYS INSISTED that we were newspapermen first and political organizers second. But by the nature of events, and judging from the mail that comes in and the questions asked of us when we go around speaking, a good proportion of our readers seem to think we ought to be BOTH first. That's a tall order, but we've been thinking hard about what we consider the No. 1 need on the political scene today—the revival of a grand American tradition: independent political action. And we'll have a good deal to say about that in the coming months.

THERE'S LOTS MORE IN THE WORKS, but it's time to apply what we've been saying above to the campaign for 10,000 new GUARDIAN readers, which is the cornerstone of our efforts as we move toward our 10th anniversary. This issue, with the DuBois tribute, is a perfect one to show to prospective readers. In addition there is the lively controversy on F.D.R. on p. 5 (it's just this kind of argument that sparks new thinking on the Left) and Wilfred Burchett's interview with the controversial Russian writer Boris Pasternak on p. 11.

We're printing extra copies of this issue. If you can use a bundle in your missionary work as a GUARDIAN circulation builder, write to George Evans, our circulation manager, and he'll see that you get your extras pronto.

Just to round this out in the spirit of the week, we'd like to report on how Dr. DuBois feels about our paper, as related by his charming wife, Shirley Graham. "When the GUARDIAN comes each week," she said, "he puts whatever he's doing aside and sits down to read it from cover to cover."

What greater tribute could we have from a man of such mental discipline? Let's make it a national habit.

THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG
USM

One titan to another

DEVON, ENGLAND

A letter from Sean O'Casey to Cedric Belfrage on Dr. DuBois' birthday:

"What the hell can I say to the war veteran in the cause of brotherhood and peace at the time of his 90th year? If it could be that a wish would lop off 20 or 30 years from the 90 so that he could go on living over again to fight the good fight, then a wish from my heart would fly to him, perch on his shoulder and shout Bravo, Titan of the Negro.

"The collection is the most important thing. If I sent a check for five pounds would it be converted into dollars? I am happy to send it along as a tribute to this most worthy American."

Sean O'Casey

For a panoramic view of Dr. DuBois' life, see pages 7-10. For information about a New York reception for Dr. DuBois, see ad on page 14—Ed.

Talking union

HONOLULU, T. H.

Enclosed find $118.50 for 30 albums of **Talking Union & Other Songs**, FP 85-1 of Folkways Records.

I would appreciate the fastest possible delivery, as we need them for the sugar strike which is now in progress.

David E. Thompson,
Education Director
ILWU, Local 142
451 Atkinson Drive

Neutralism in Israel

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

In the Nov. 18 GUARDIAN, which unfortunately reached me with much delay, Robert E. Jackson takes objection to my asking for an Israel foreign policy based on neutrality. He adds, gratuitously, that "the communists have always hated Zionism," thus implying that only the Communist Party here favors a neutralist foreign policy.

Both socialist labor parties, Mapam and Ahdut Avoda, have time and again come out for a foreign policy based on neutrality. The recent Cabinet crisis was largely caused by their insistence on this policy plank. Both of them are Zionist parties. Moreover, many liberal progressive circles have expressed the same view, among them various leaders of the Progressive Party (formerly of the General Zionists) including Minister of Justice, P. Rosen.

Even **Haaretz**, the leading independent daily, which to Israel is what the New York **Times** is to the United States—and incidentally the paper to which I am attached locally—has on various occasions favored a neutralist foreign policy. So has Dr. Nachum Goldman, President of the World Zionist Congress. I do not believe that any of us can be accused of "hating Israel." On the contrary, we wish Israel to survive, to prosper and to be able to live in a world of peace.

The fact that many people, of different political views, favor a policy also favored by communists, does not make this policy any less desirable or essential. To follow this line of reasoning can surely lead only to sterility, madness and suicide.

Ursula Wassermann

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Dr. Flemming, president of Ohio Wesleyan University and a former member of the National Security Council, said:

"We must pursue what former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill once called a 'policy of defense through deterence'."

"I know that there are those who contend that such a program of defense through deterence would lead inevitably to war," Dr. Flemming added. "I respect their opinion and I know that the weight of history is on their side."

—Cleveland Plain Dealer, 1/30

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M. L. Nearing, Cleveland, Ohio.

Where your $$ went

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

May I report through the Mailbag to the many GUARDIAN readers who sent me contributions as a result of your recent report to readers on my Reflections on Progressive Movements.

I split their donations among the three current fights for American freedom which seemed to me of both immediate urgency and greatest long-range consequences, namely:

- The bus segregation battle still not won in Tallahassee, Fla. Two Negro and one white college students have been convicted for defying the city's segregation ordinance. The Tallahassee Inter-Civic Council (803 Floral St.) needs funds to appeal to higher courts.
- The Taft-Hartley Conspiracy case in Cleveland, O., where Marie and Fred Haug (14720 Milverton Rd.) and five other defendants are fighting a conviction which poses an entirely new and grave threat to all organized labor.
- The Powell-Schuman Defense Fund (P.O. Box 1808, San Francisco 1). Three American editors face combined sentences of 260 years for printing what they had grounds for believing was the truth about the Korean War. If they are convicted of sedition not only is freedom of the press dead, and the right of Americans to learn the facts about our foreign policy ended, but the right of citizens even to agitate for peace in opposition to official policies is jeopardized.

Every contributor has shared in these battles for freedom.

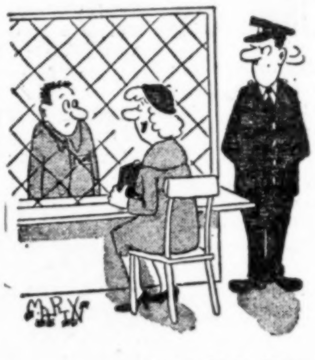
Florence H. Luscomb

Collective suit

BURBANK, CALIF.

Why not a collective suit by TV-set owners against the manufacturers for fraudulent representation? Who doesn't remember the advertisements depicting all the delights that would come into the buyer's home free—football, baseball, prize-fights, movie stars? Now the set owner is to be told that the manufacturer has decided he must pay another charge—buying the set is not enough! One lawyer could represent thousands and if each owner of a set who doesn't want Pay TV paid 10c, there'd be ample money for the suit.

Frances Duncan Manning



London Daily Mirror

"I won't stay—I expect you want to get on with your tunnel."

Smith Act victors

BOSTON, MASS.

The indictments pending so long against us under the Smith Act have been dropped, and we enter 1958 with the happy prospect of once more living our normal lives among family and friends. We wish to thank all those who helped in our defense, as well as in the larger resistance to McCarthyism, which made our vindication possible.

Many men and women were wrongly imprisoned under the Smith Act. And while the Federal Government has been compelled by the courts to abandon its prosecution of us and of Smith Act victims in Connecticut, California and elsewhere, two men are still in prison serving eight-year terms. They are Henry Winston and Gilbert Green, the only remaining victims of this thought-control legislation.

In the interest of justice and in accordance with the court decisions, Green and Winston should be freed now.

We urge you to write President Eisenhower requesting amnesty for Winston and Green, so that they can return to their families this year.

Otis Hood
Michael Russo
Anne Timpson
Daniel Boone Schirmer
Sidney Lipshires

Absurdity's cost

BROWNSVILLE, TEX.

Alfred Tennyson wrote: "When the schemes of all the systems, Kingdoms, and Republics, fall, Something kindlier, higher, holier—All for one and one for all." Voltaire once said people would continue to commit atrocities as long as they continued to believe absurdities. As I view it, the Western powers, especially the United States, move from one absurdity to another, contrary to reason and common sense; from one brink to another, from one failure to another, and apparently will continue in the absurdities until they fold up in bankruptcy, morally, militarily, and financially.

Walt Green

Joy and comfort

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

I appreciate the GUARDIAN more and more every week. It is a joy and comfort as well as a mentor.

Elsie H. Tyndale

PROCLAIMING THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Egyptian President Nasser (l.) clasps hands with Syrian President Al-Kuwatly

17 PRINCIPLES ANNOUNCED

Plebiscite set to confirm new United Arab Republic

SPEAKING before their respective Assemblies, Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser and Syria's President Shukri al-Kuwatly on Feb. 5 described the structure of the United Arab Republic they had proclaimed four days earlier.

Among the 17 principles agreed upon by Egypt and Syria to guide the Republic's 28,000,000 people through an unspecified transitional period, were the following:

- As "an independent democratic, sovereign, presidential republic," the new state guaranteed individual liberties, free elections and protection of private property.
- A single-chamber Council of the Nation would be the supreme legislative body, its members chosen by the President but at least half of them drawn from the Egyptian and Syrian Assemblies.
- Regionally, Egypt and Syria would be governed by councils under chairmen appointed by the President.
- For the time being, present laws in the two nations would remain in force, and international treaties of both would remain valid. (This seemed to imply that there will continue to be two instead of one representative at the UN).
- "The citizens shall form a national union [presumably by merging all political parties] for the attainment of the national goals and to concentrate their efforts in building a sound nation politically, socially and economically."
- "A plebiscite on the unity, and the identity of the President of the United Arab Republic shall be held on Friday, Feb. 21."

LONG DREAM: It was taken for granted that Nasser would be President and al-Kuwatly Vice President. The door was left open for other Arab states to join the Republic, but in what form was not spelled out, since with the exception of the Republic of Lebanon the rest are all feudal monarchies.

Arabs have dreamed of a united Arabia—based on a common language and culture—ever since Britain and France carved the land into a crazy-quilt pattern as their special preserves after World War I.

Three years ago Egypt and Syria signed a mutual defense pact, placing their armed forces under a joint command headed by an Egyptian general. Two years ago the Syrian Assembly unanimously approved establishing a committee to negotiate union with Egypt. Talks held since then culminated in the Feb. 1 proclamation of the United Arab Republic, ratified by the Egyptian and Syrian Assemblies on Feb. 5.

REPERCUSSIONS: The Egyptian-Syrian merger is expected to have wide repercussions throughout the Middle East and beyond.

The new Republic is split in two parts—like Pakistan—separated by Israel and Jordan. The Israeli Cabinet has already discussed the implications of the merger, its worries increased by a report that the Cairo Education Ministry has ordered the name "Israel" replaced by the name "Arab Palestine" on all Egyptian school maps.

Jordan's King Hussein, his throne imperiled by the discontent of the many politically alert and pro-Nasser Palestine Arab refugees, has urged Iraq's King Feisal and Saudi Arabia's King Saud to federate the feudal Arab monarchies as a counterweight to the Republic. But the ranks of the U.S.-supported royal despots were broken by the rulers of Yemen and Saudi Arabia, who began to explore federation with the Republic.

All Lebanese newspapers applauded the Republic. Students demonstrating for Lebanon's union with it were dispersed by police.

Iraq's ruler uneasily watched the Republic which now controls both the Suez Canal and the Syrian pipelines through which Iraqi oil flows abroad. A high government official estimated that 85% of the radio sets in Baghdad were tuned to Cairo.

IMPACT ON U.S.: The Republic's impact is sure to be felt in the U.S. and in Britain, with their heavy oil stakes in the Arab world. Popular pro-Republic uprisings in Jordan or Iraq would place before Washington the dilemma of whether to invoke the Eisenhower Doctrine guaranteeing U.S. military support for the Arab rulers. London will more than ever cling to Cyprus as a strategic Middle East base in relation to the Baghdad Pact region.

While the new Republic faces many problems such as geographical division and the difficulties of coordinated economic development, there is little doubt about the increased prestige of President Nasser, the strengthening of his international bargaining position and the Arab people's acceptance of him as the leading spokesman for a united Arabia.

NON-MEMBER HIT FOR 'MEMBERSHIP'

Scales on trial for 2nd time in renewed Smith Act move

IN THE FEDERAL COURT House at Greensboro, N.C., Junius Irving Scales last week opened another chapter in an ordeal that has kept him in the shadow of prison for three years. He is now on trial for the second time, charged with membership in an organization which allegedly seeks the forceful and violent overthrow of the government—specifically, the Communist Party.

In 1955 Scales and Claude Lightfoot of Chicago were chosen to test the Smith Act's "membership clause." Scales was convicted and sentenced to six years. He was held without bail until the U.S. Supreme Court ordered him freed pending appeal. He lost his appeals in the lower courts. But last October the Supreme Court reversed the convictions of both Scales and Lightfoot holding that, as in the Jencks case, the government had failed to make available to the defense the relevant documents in the case.

Presumably in the current trial the FBI will have to make available the pertinent closed-door testimony of informers. Since the issues involve fundamental constitutional questions, Scales now faces more years of litigation and a possible second appeal to the Supreme Court.

NATIVE SON: Scales comes from one of the founding families of North Carolina and is a grand-nephew of former Gov. A. M. Scales. He was 35 when arrested and had for years served openly as chairman of the Communist Party of North Carolina, broadcasting his views over the radio and appearing before the N.C. legislature as a Communist spokesman.

The CP rallied to his support, but so did many others who saw in his persecution a far-reaching threat to U.S. liberties. Telford Taylor, a brigadier general and chief Allied prosecutor of Nazi war criminals at the Nuremberg trials, undertook his defense.

Last week Taylor and a Greensboro associate counsel, McNeil Smith, resumed the defense. But few people were in the courtroom. Newspapers outside of Greensboro scarcely mentioned the case.

It took weeks to select a jury. Some called were outspoken foes of integration—which Scales and the CP had always championed. Others had served on the original jury that convicted Scales and showed open friendliness to U.S. Atty. Robert L. Gavin. All admitted they were anti-Communist. In the end the jury consisted of one Negro man and 11 whites, three of whom were women.

Most of the prosecution's witnesses are admittedly paid informers and FBI plants in the CP. First witness was informer John Lautner who appeared in the first trial and in many other Smith Act prosecutions. He admitted no personal knowledge of Scales but testified in general on the CP.

STANDS ALONE: As Scales walked about Greensboro some persons came up to shake his hand and murmur that they were sorry the long ordeal was beginning again. But in his court fight Scales seemed more alone than ever before. He is no longer a member of the CP and has not been for more than two years—a circumstance that makes it ironic for him to stand trial for "membership" and to defend the rights of CP members. The CP has no hand in his defense. His own resources are meager for the bitter fight ahead. His wife and 6½-year-old daughter are in New York where the Scales' have been living since the FBI made it impossible for them to earn their way in Greensboro.

Last week his wife asked all friends and all those who can support the freedoms at stake in the Scales trial to send funds to her: Mrs. J. I. Scales, 90 La Salle St., New York 27, N.Y.

JUNIUS SCALES (L.), 1954

Today he stands almost alone

HE IRKED SWIFT & CO.

Chicago unionist fights deportation to native Mexico

THIRTY-THREE years ago a Mexican youth named Jose Ramirez came to Chicago and after a short while got a job at 42½c an hour in the pork block cellars of Swift & Co. He stayed with Swift 28 years and, as his union, United Packinghouse Workers of America, says: "You don't work for Swift & Co. that long unless you're a good worker."

Ramirez was a good union man too—he was elected shop steward in '37, became a member of Local 28's executive board, served on committees. Chicago's Mayor Kelly gave him a special commendation during the war for serving 500 hours as a block captain. He is married and has three Chicago-born children. In 1954 he left Swift's to become a field representative for his union.

Early in 1957 Ramirez and a team of UPWA organizers went down to Kansas City to try to win over the Swift plant there from a company union. In the resulting NLRB election they came too close for Swift's comfort.

A LITTLE LATER: In March, 1957, Ramirez was called before immigration officials and quizzed about his 32 years in this country. On the advice of the union's lawyer he refused to answer questions on constitutional grounds.

Deportation proceedings against him were started immediately. Three hearings were held at which three stoolpigeons testified to seeing Ramirez at Communist meetings in the 40's. Last week Ramirez began his defense, represented by chief UPWA counsel Eugene Cotton. The union is backing his fight to remain in this country with his wife and three children.

The union urges messages to Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers in Washington asking that the deportation proceedings be dropped. Contributions for the Ramirez defense may be sent to Committee to Defend Our Union, UPWA District One, 4859 S. Wabash Av., Chicago 15, Ill.

Tunisia massacre

(Continued from Page 1)

THE MAN WHO GOT A SMILE OUT OF JOHN FOSTER DULLES
The U.S.S.R.'s new ambassador to the U.S., Mikhail A. Menshikov (r.), was greeted last week at Baltimore by State Dept. protocol man Wiley T. Buchanan. Mrs. Menshikov is in the middle. A fast mover, Menshikov saw Secy. of State Dulles next day. Said Dulles, smiling: "We haven't solved the disarmament problem." Said Menshikov, smiling: "Not yet."

a minimum agenda to explore possibilities of East-West coexistence without either side abandoning its "belief in its own creed." Khrushchev endorsed the idea in a prompt reply.

Writing for the President, Dulles asserted that the U.S. creed was "based on the tenets of moral law [and] religious convictions [and the] determination to substitute peaceful negotiation for force." But, Dulles said, since Soviet creed "comprehends the use of force and violence," peaceful coexistence was impossible.

NO CHANGE: The **New Statesman** noted that Dulles "has not in the slightest degree changed the basic appraisal of Soviet intentions he formed when he was Mr. Truman's special adviser." It said:

"Mr. Khrushchev represents a new Russia, technological and self-confident. . . . Any professed willingness to abandon the war of weapons and embrace the war of ideas may spring from a profound conviction that she can win it."

Dulles' views of Moscow's intentions were not shared even by the most reactionary allies of the U.S. They seemed to agree with George Kennan that Russia has no intention "of trying to subdue the West by military conquest."

Chicago **Daily News** correspondent Ernie Hill, after a trip through Central Europe, reported (2/2) that popular opinion found "talk of the imminence of war with Russia shocking." He noted "a general feeling that there are ways of diminishing prospects of war with the Communist world [as well as a] conviction that the U.S. is moving hellbent in the opposite direction on an avalanche of worn-out Dulles slogans."

BALLOON PUNCTURED: Noting Dulles' propensity for "moral arguments" against negotiating with Moscow, C. L. Sulzberger wrote (**N.Y. Times, 11/19/57**): "Clearly we must cease diplomatic sermonizing [when] with no sense of contradiction we ally ourselves with Franco, Salazar, Batista, [Thailand's] Field Marshal Sarit and the slave-owning King Saud."

Even as the Dulles letter appeared in the **New Statesman**—and Washington extended $600,000,000 in new military aid to France—this staunch U.S. ally punctured Dulles' balloon.

On Feb. 8, after 50 violations of the Tunisian border, 25 French warplanes, flying low, bombed and strafed a Tunisian town near the Algerian border, allegedly "in hot pursuit" of Algerian liberation fighters; 78 Tunisian men, women and children were killed and many more wounded. Seventeen of the 25 warplanes were made in the U.S.

PROFOUND SHOCK: Tunisia's UN delegate protested strongly against France's "premeditated act of aggression." The State Dept. said it was "profoundly disturbed" by the incident; privately, officials expressed profound shock and embarrassment. An Algerian leader told Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba: "The U.S. now has only to send soldiers against us. The Americans are already giving France arms to kill us and money to pay for the killing."

At GUARDIAN press time, the Tunisians were taking the issue to the UN Security Council. Washington was bearing down hard on them to soft-pedal their protest to minimize the effect of the massacre on the Afro-Asians and to prevent NATO's total collapse. The incident precipitated the gravest crisis Paris has yet faced.

Dulles does not stop at moralizing: he has a long record of blocking efforts toward East-West talks. He opposed Winston Churchill's summit meeting proposal in October, 1953; tried hard to prevent the 1955 Geneva summit meeting and ruined hopes of better results by persuading Mr. Eisenhower to talk "East European liberation" with Zhukov, who immediately froze; turned down the suggestion of an important Washington group to invite Zhukov to the U.S. in 1955; overruled Presidential disarmament adviser Harold Stassen's proposal to fly to Moscow in 1956 to get arms talks going.

SOVIET REACTION: Dulles also short-circuited the last London disarmament talks just as Stassen seemed on the verge of reaching an understanding with the Soviets; recently sent hot cables from Ankara after Presidential press secy. Hagerty said the President would agree on a summit meeting if a simple agenda were decided upon. Hagerty retracted.

With this record in mind, it was not surprising that in his latest letter to Mr. Eisenhower, Premier Bulganin said that Dulles' participation would make a foreign ministers' conference fruitless.

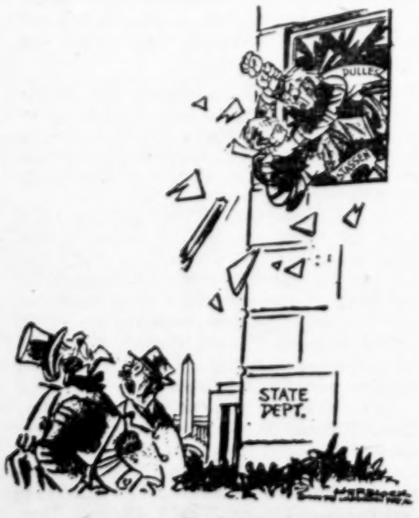
When pressured, Dulles has camouflaged his determination not to negotiate by presenting "package" plans—such as the one on disarmament—sure to be rejected by the Soviet Union. His most recent effort has been a nine-point "package" agenda, including the elimination of major-power unanimity rule in the UN Security Council, German reunification without a nuclear-free or neutralized Central European zone and giving "the peoples of Eastern Europe free choice of government."

This was in contrast to the Soviet proposal for a gradual approach to build East-West trust and confidence, starting with halting nuclear weapons tests, embargoing arms to the Middle East and establishing, under proper control and inspection, a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. The last might lead to a neutral Germany, "a price [Dulles] refused to pay" (**The Reporter, 1/23**).

ALTERNATIVE PLAN: Until Feb. 4 Dulles was able to line up unanimous bipartisan Congressional support for his policies. On that day, however, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) broke ranks and, in a four-hour address in the Senate, urged a wide-ranging reassessment and presented an alternative to the Administration's foreign policy.

He recommended talks with Moscow starting "with a single point," such as suspension of nuclear weapons tests. This could be followed by a UN-supervised arms embargo on the Middle East and a UN Middle East development authority for economic aid; gradual disengagement in Central Europe, and a re-examination of Washington's China policy because "some settlement of the China issue must take place" before disarmament could be seriously contemplated.

Few Democrats—and only a lone Republican—even paid the simple courtesy of staying in the Senate chamber during Humphrey's speech. Of the responses in the two days following his speech, 96% were in favor of his entire program.



Herblock in Washington Post
"Any prospect of negotiation over here?"

N.Y. schools

(Continued from Page 1)

LAW DEFIED: A run-away Grand Jury, under the prodding of Kings County Judge Samuel S. Liebowitz, needled the Board of Education. At first the demand was for police patrols in school corridors. When the Board acceded to that the Jury, in almost daily presentments handed up in Judge Liebowitz's courtroom, called for more such action.

On Feb. 6 the Board of Education declared that any child found by the supervisor to be guilty of "violence or insubordination" is to be instantly suspended. He cannot return to school until a court finds him not guilty. While his case is pending he may be paroled in his parents' custody but he will have to roam the streets.

On the first day under the new rule 644 children were suspended. Groups of parents, teachers and the American Civil Liberties Union denounced the step as "desperate," "illegal," "ineffectual," "regressive," "hysterical." Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) called it "a form of Nazism."

But Robert Daru, counsel to the Justice and Public Affairs Committees of the N.Y. Criminal Courts Bar Assn., said the only trouble was that it didn't put kids as young as 12 to work. In offering his work program for "kids who should not be in school," he said: "What this country needs, and New York City in particular, is a good 15c cigar and a good $15-a-week errand boy or errand girl."

Board officials said they knew they were violating state law which provides for compulsory schooling up to the age of 16, but said they hoped the law would be "brought up to date." The Mayor had already suggested that perhaps compulsory education should be limited to those 14 and under.

SIX-POINT PLAN: Those who favor school integration in New York feared that the new ruling would lead to a "weeding" out of Negro and Puerto Rican children from white schools.

Earlier the Board had announced a six-point program which called for six new special schools for the "serious disruptive elements."

WAR AGAINST KIDS: The new policy seemed to declare war on the children. Those who championed the prevention of delinquency by providing more service to the children had a bad day at the budget hearings in Albany last week. Hundreds of delegates from teachers and parents' organizations went to the state capital with demands for increased state aid to schools. Mayor Wagner and school officials met, too, demanding at first $40,000,000 in state aid for schools and all other purposes. That figure was itself inadequate but before the hearings ended the Mayor acceded to the figure advocated by Gov. Harriman—$13,000,000. The schools would get little of that.

The city's frantic hysteria crept into the General Sessions court of Judge Irwin D. Davidson on Feb. 5, opening day of the trial of seven boys charged with murder. Allegedly they were part of a gang called "The Egyptian Kings." The charge is that on the night of last July 30 they and 12 other younger children murdered 15-year-old Michael Farmer near the Highbridge swimming pool in Washington Heights. Another boy, Roger McShane, 16, who was Michael Farmer's companion, was badly wounded in the assault.

COMPOUNDED TRAGEDY: "The Egyptian Kings" were said to have been preparing a "rumble" against another gang, "The Jesters," who sometime previously had barred a Negro member of the "Egyptian Kings" from the pool. The "Egyptian Kings" is composed of Negro and white boys but the "Jesters" is apparently strictly jimcrow. The 19 children who went armed with knives, machetes and clubs were a scouting party that mistook Farmer and McShane for the "enemy." The two victims apparently were not members of any gang.

To many the tragedy of last summer seemed to be compounded in the courtroom. The prosecution is trying the seven under a common law indictment which makes a death sentence mandatory on conviction.

If the indictment had been drawn under "felony murder"—charging that a felony was the primary objective and murder unpremeditated, as in a hold-up—the jury could recommend clemency and it would be up to the judge to decide the sentence.

John McCarthy, the youngest of the accused, passed his 15th birthday two weeks before the crime occurred. If he were two weeks younger he would be called a juvenile under the law and beyond a murder prosecution.

THE REAL VILLAINS: Last week young McCarthy, stricken and pale, could make no opening statement for himself. He is said to suffer from epilepsy. His attorney said he belongs in Children's Court, but the prosecution asked for his life along with the others. A battery of 27 court-appointed attorneys is defending the boys. Last week they protested repeatedly what they called inflammatory tactics of the prosecutor who, in a call for vengeance, held before the jury the jacket of the slain boy with the sunlight showing through the knife holes.

It was not known last week whether any or all of the boys would take the stand. If they do and if competent psychologists testify, the nation may have a better look into what makes a "difficult" child.

Only a few voices were raised last week against those who have declared war on children: among them Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of City College. He told a meeting of Interfaith Neighbors that "the villains of the piece" are "any and all persons who adopt a feeling of self-righteousness and hurl their Olympian bolts of wrath at the children of the desolate."

HALLINAN ON TUGWELL—A CONTROVERSY

'The Democratic Roosevelt': 3 views

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN on Jan. 6 published Vincent Hallinan's review of The Democratic Roosevelt *by Rexford Guy Tugwell (Doubleday) which drew a dissent from Adam Lapin, veteran Washington correspondent, formerly of the* People's World. *Hallinan countered with his own rejoinder. Meanwhile another comment came from C. B. Baldwin, former secy. of the Progressive Party and outstanding New Dealer who, under President Roosevelt, held several top jobs including that of Farm Security Administrator. We here publish the views of all three.*

ADAM LAPIN

'It is folly to brush off ... the New Deal ...'

I WISH VINCENT Hallinan had allowed the Neanderthal wing of the Republican party to enjoy its monopoly on attacks against Rex Tugwell, Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. In his review (GUARDIAN, Jan. 6) of Tugwell's **The Democratic Roosevelt,** Hallinan even accuses Roosevelt of having provoked Japan into war. Criticism of Roosevelt for appeasing Japan would have been more in order.

Hallinan says the value of Tugwell's book lies in the inside story it unwittingly provides of "the fraud, corruption, greed, treachery, double-dealing, and cheating which is the soul of American politics."

As generalizations go, Hallinan's is as good as any about capitalist politics. And Roosevelt certainly did his share of double-dealing and equivocating. But how illuminating is it to write about Roosevelt as if he were just about the same as Grant, Harding, Coolidge and Truman—and about the New Deal era as if it differed but little from any other period in our political history?

TUGWELL'S PICTURE of Roosevelt (although valuable for other reasons than cited by Hallinan) is lacking in dimension because he leaves out the social dynamics, the class and political conflicts which shaped Roosevelt's actions and the ups and downs of the New Deal. Hallinan's review is lacking for the same reason. He, too, leaves out the political and social ferment of one of the most exciting periods in our history.

I believe that the soul of American politics during the New Deal period was to be found on picket lines and breadlines, at demonstrations and mass meetings. It was to be found in a tremendous political upsurge, in the building of great mass unions, in real struggles by the people. Hallinan just fails to mention this.

Roosevelt made his place in the history books because he understood something of the times in which he lived, of the great domestic crisis created by the depression and of the great international crisis created by fascism. Of course, he was trying to save capitalism. But to a greater degree than any other recent President, he identified himself with at least some of the demands and aspirations of the people. His enormous popularity was, and remains, due to this fact.

I SPEAK, HOWEVER, not so much in defense of Roosevelt as of the useable, living traditions of American radicalism. Socialism won't come to us in a space ship from Mars. A resurgent socialist movement needs roots in our own country, ties with our past and our present. And it is just plain folly for us to brush off the social gains and the people's movements of the New Deal which are an important part of our tradition. It just makes no sense to ignore aspects of the New Deal which are meaningful for us today.

Hallinan is so anxious to criticize Tugwell for minimizing the Soviet victory at Stalingrad that he fails to note Tugwell's comments that Roosevelt's plans for cooperation with the Soviets were undermined by high officials after FDR's death. Isn't it important in this age of the Sputnik for us to emphasize that Roosevelt believed in coexistence rather than in the peace-through-strength madness of Truman and Dulles?

It seems to me a strong case can be made that New Deal gains were achieved largely by independent action outside the Democratic party through such organizations as the American Labor party, Labor's Non-Partisan League and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party. But Hallinan doesn't make it. He is apparently too unwilling to concede any real gains.

HALLINAN NOTES in passing that Roosevelt was searching in his last years for a new political alignment or party—but he notes it only in order to criticize Roosevelt for thinking in terms of a program of "progressive capitalism." Roosevelt's groping in this direction seems to me more significant than the obvious fact that he was not a socialist.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
A place in history

Of course, New Deal social reforms could not and did not end the depression nor eliminate future convulsions in the economic cycle. But New Deal legislation such as social security, TVA and the wage-hour act did have a profound effect on the economy and on the thinking of the American people. Even the GOP has had to abandon a direct frontal attack on these reforms because they are too deeply imbedded in the political and social consciousness of the people.

Doesn't this have some meaning for American progressives and socialists trying to devise a program for today as a new "recession" bedevils the economy? I believe that the left has to consider the meaning of the New Deal, both its achievements and its limitations, in devising domestic and foreign policies and forms of political action for today. The whole period requires objective study and discussion—rather than blanket condemnation and sweeping generalizations about capitalist politics.

It is because I think such discussion can be helpful that I venture to differ with a good friend I respect and admire.

C. B. BALDWIN

'The most fruitful period of our lives'

WITH RELUCTANCE, I am addressing myself to the purported review of Tugwell's **The Democratic Roosevelt** in the GUARDIAN. I have hesitated because now should be the time for Progressives to find areas of agreement rather than conflict. But when the history of the Roosevelt era is distorted and its leadership maligned, it should not go unchallenged and I, for one, cannot remain silent.

I recognize Hallinan's virtuosity as an able and courageous defense attorney. I wish he would devote his talents to attacks on the real opposition rather than to a mischievous effort to discredit Roosevelt and the New Deal.

The books on Roosevelt and the era of his political career are many and varied, but no one else has done the painstaking, sensitive and scholarly job that Rex Tugwell has done. His criticisms are far from unsparing, but out of his probings, Roosevelt's qualities of greatness emerge.

THERE ARE FEW, if any, people in important places under Roosevelt who did not suffer acutely from the whims, vagaries and chicanery of many of the leaders of the coalition of forces over whom Roosevelt was forced to preside and from whom he required support. Rex Tugwell was the first important victim among the progressives. Others sulked or became active enemies of Roosevelt. Tugwell never did.

Perhaps he was too sensitive to the President's problems, but his dedication was such as not to allow the luxury of giving comfort to the real opponents of the New Deal or satisfaction to the malcontents. His boldness and imagination were sorely missed, but his influence among those who became his friends and admirers remained and strengthened our convictions.

Hallinan thinks "the author early discloses a bias which must have dulled his critical sense." Certainly the same can be said of the obvious Hallinan bias. The Hallinan Roosevelt "adjusted himself to the creed of the jungle" . . . "smothered his scruples" . . . was an imperialist and lastly a war-monger. His grudging admission that "the net effect of America's entry into the second world war was to the benefit of humanity" and that "it smashed fascism in Europe" is all but lost in the lifting from context the critical comments in a 631-page book by a friendly but objective biographer.

POLITICAL INTEGRITY, or even good taste, would have eliminated the extraneous slapping down of Henry Wallace as the candidate of the Progressive Party. The differences that caused Mr. Wallace to relinquish leadership in the Progressive Party are well known, but I am surely not alone in the solid conviction that he performed a great service for peace at a time when almost all other prominent voices were still.

I do not think it necessary now to enumerate the accomplishments of the New Deal or the greatness of Roosevelt's war-time leadership. Nor should we minimize the weaknesses of the past nor rest on past triumphs. However, if the forces for good and for progress are to become dominant, it will not be done by a cynical distortion of the history of the most fruitful period of our lives.

VINCENT HALLINAN

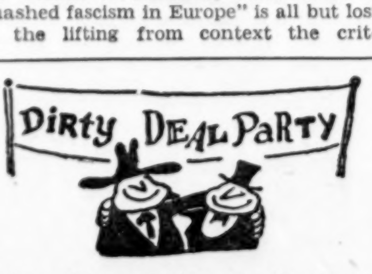
'A new political alliance is necessary'

I UNDERSTAND that Adam Lapin has read everything written about Franklin Roosevelt and that he shares the adoration for him betrayed in Rexford Tugwell's book.

This is an amiable fault, and I am pained to have offended illusions which, obviously, are dearly cherished. Meanwhile, the statements which accomplish this lamentable result are not mine. They are taken from the Tugwell book. My undertaking was not to assess the New Deal, but to review that volume. In this task, it is useful to call to attention so much of its contents as throw light on the persons and events involved.

My review does no more than this except in three instances. The first mentions Daniel Halevy's comment on the resemblance between the two great political parties. Mr. Lapin will probably agree with it. The second concerns the Japanese "sneak-attack" theory. The history of the negotiations which culminated in Pearl Harbor is exhaustively detailed in Charles A. Beard's **President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War; a Study in Appearances and Reality** (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1947) a reading of which, I believe, will dissuade Mr. Lapin from his present beliefs on that subject.

ASIDE from Prof. Beard's discussion, I always expected that, sooner or later, the U.S. and Japan would go to war to determine whose buccaneers would exploit China. Unhappily, the Chinese snatched the prize from our jaws in the very moment of victory. The third departure is a suggestion to Tugwell that he is not above the bigotries of our times in begrudging credit to the Soviet armies for their courage and sacrifices in repulsing the Nazis. Only one of these touches FDR and that obliquely. None involve the New Deal.



The "picket-lines . . . bread-lines . . . demonstrations . . . mass meetings . . . building of great mass unions . . . real struggles" which our critic lists as glories of that period, seem to me to be concomitants of almost every decade in our history. If there were impressive "stirrings," the babies appear to have died in their mothers' wombs. Today, we have "great mass unions" but no labor movement; the socialists have abandoned socialism; the communists, having been released by the Republicans from the prisons in which the Democrats placed them, are supporting the Democrats.

I WOULD FOREGO lacerating the sensibilities of the Adam Lapins with regard to their hero, except that the Democratic Party is now using him to coax youth into its verminiferous apparatus.

To keep abreast of the World, we, in this country, must bring about a planned socialist economy; we must abolish War and Militarism; we must secure political, economic and social equality for everyone, regardless of race or color.

A new political alliance is necessary to secure these ends; the old ones are creaking in decay. We are in an age of space travel and jet propulsion. We cannot invite our young and hopeful ones to climb into the Conestoga wagons and one-horse shays of our grandfathers.

Even with its decor of the New Deal, the Democratic Party is only, at best, a surrey with the fringe on top.

Some recent history—and the way forward

By K. Zilliacus
Labour Member of Parliament

LONDON

THE LINES OF BATTLE are now clearly drawn. The issue today is the same, in reverse, as the one that divided the West before the war; then it was pro-fascist appeasement; now it is anti-communist intervention (miscalled 'liberation' and disguised behind lip-service to 'peaceful co-existence'). The two are opposite sides of the same coin.

For pro-fascist appeasement in the Thirties was simply the continuation by other means of the policy of anti-communist intervention in the Twenties, that failed in its direct military form in revolutionary Russia, but succeeded in its economic, diplomatic and direct military forms in Europe—and broke the nascent social revolution at the price of sowing the seeds of fascism. The fascist powers were allowed in the Thirties to arm and commit aggressions in the hope that they would leave the West alone, expand eastwards and eventually attack the Soviet Union. That policy literally backfired—the world war was the result.

REGRESSION: Since the war the capitalist world has gone back to the policy of the Twenties. But this time on a global scale, under the command of the United States, with weapons that would exterminate the human race if they were ever used, and in circumstances where Britain is only a marginal nuclear power and the West as a whole is being outstripped in its own chosen field of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union.

The Labour Party, which fought this policy between the wars, fell for it after the war. It behaved on an international scale the way the Social-Democratic Party did in Germany after the first world war: the issue, they claimed, was no longer between socialism and capitalism, but between dictatorship and democracy. And so they made an alliance with the German General Staff against revolutionary workers and entered into coalitions, as a more and more junior partner, with capitalist parties that moved steadily to the Right. They ended by capitulating to Hitler.

RECOVERY: The Labour government from 1945-57 became the junior partner in a capitalist grand alliance run from Washington and dedicated to making the world safe for Wall Street on the pretext of saving it from communism. The result of this attempt to combine a moderately socialist home policy with playing understudy to Washington in a foreign policy designed to defend capitalism, was progressively to rob the British people of the fruits of the government's domestic measures, to sow ever-graver dissension in the Labour Party, to lose first most of its majority, then office, and then a million-and-a-half Labour votes, in three successive electoral defeats.

The recovery began when Labour went into Opposition, beginning with the 1952 Conference of the Party. But the process of growing up in world affairs has been slow and fitful, and marked by protracted and bitter struggles between Right and Left in the Party. Since the shock administered by the 1955 election and the cutting out of the hard core of elder statesmen—Attlee, Herbert Morrison, Hugh Dalton, Shinwell—in the process of elevating Gaitskell to the leadership, progress has been more rapid.

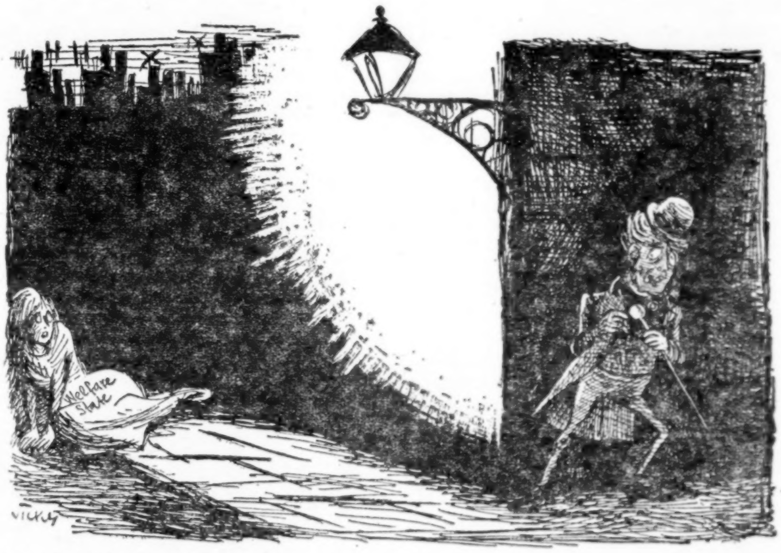
Although a lot remains to be done, the Left feels the Party has now been pushed so far that it cannot go back—nor long remain in its present confused and contradictory position. The dynamism of events and pressure from below will carry it forward.

GOVERNMENT GETS TOUGH

British Tories war on labor; general strike may result

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON



Vicky in New Statesman, London

On the sidewalk Sunday morning
Lies a body oozing life

Someone's sneaking round the corner
Is the someone Mac The Knife?

The Threepenny Opera

BRITAIN'S TORY government last month virtually declared war against the trade union movement. The immediate challenge was to London's busmen whose union, the giant Transport & General Workers, thought it had found a peaceful formula for settling its cost-of-living wage demands.

The militant busmen had accepted a government spokesman's proposal for a committee of inquiry. But Labor Minister Iain Macleod, responding to what seemed clearly a Cabinet order, repudiated his own spokesman. He implied that further wage concessions were out and the government felt it would win a show-down fight against organized labor.

Emphasizing its point, the government rejected earlier wage settlements agreed upon for probation officers (civil service) and for Health Service staff members.

WAR MANEUVER: Right-wing labor leaders were confronted with the fact that the class struggle could not, after all, be wished away in a capitalist state. The reason for the recent resignation of Chancellor of the Exchequer Peter Thorneycroft—purportedly because the government's attack on living standards was too "soft" for his taste—became clear. It had been a rather clumsy Tory maneuver to appear solicitous for labor while preparing an open declaration of war.

Labor Ministry figures admitted these and other price increases in the past year: potatoes and vegetables, 24%; rents and fares, 11½%; coal and coke, 10%; postage and telephone, 25%.

Unions representing 5,000,000 workers, from the building and clothing trades to policemen and atomic scientists, have demanded compensatory wage increases. The railwaymen's union has pledged support to the busmen, threatening a standstill of London public transport if subway workers join in a strike against the London Transport Corp.

JOBLESS UP: With the anti-labor **Daily Express** editorializing that a busmen's strike would be "against the government and the public," the government was aiming to balance its war-swollen budget out of the people's hides. Seventy-five Labour MP's angrily protested proposed further cuts in school expenditures. Another increase was being planned in Natl. Insurance contributions, payable by every worker, which have been raised twice in the past four months. Also planned are further charges to patients under the "free" health service.

The press charges that the rapid increase in Natl. Insurance contributions is due to the likelihood of increased unemployment. The Tories openly desire more "healthy" unemployment, and are now moving to ensure that the workers should maintain the workless out of reduced real wages.

Last month a Welsh MP's delegation, headed by deputy Labour Party leader Jim Griffiths, drew attention to the "growing urgency" of the situation in S. Wales where unemployment has grown from 3% of the insured workers in October to 7% now, with a rise to over 10% anticipated soon.

GENERAL STRIKE? On what appeared to be the eve of war last week, a London bus driver said: "We're sitting on the borders of a general strike. Someone's going to call the government's bluff, and then the balloon is likely to go up."

There is no question of the battle-readiness of millions of rank-and-file workers, but the outcome is by no means assured. Greater public sympathy for the workers than in past similar crises is indicated not only in the mass-circulation **Daily Mirror** but even in the **Times,** which is pained by the government's crude tactics.

An expected storm in Commons failed to materialize when Labour Party spokesman Alfred Robens raised the busmen's issue. To Labour's comparatively genteel fusillade, Macleod quietly replied that his spokesman had never made the busmen's leaders any firm promise. When Robens insisted that "you risk a disastrous war in industry," and that neither busmen nor railway workers had any faith in Tory-supervised "arbitration," Macleod said that was odd since the railwaymen had just accepted it. The **Express** reported: "Tories roared with laughter."

THE TEST OF ACTION: Tory roars of laughter at workers' claims for a decent life are no new thing in Britain; but this time it seemed to the **Manchester Guardian** that the government had "deliberately tried to provoke war." The eyes of British workers are now on Transport Workers leader Frank Cousins, who is sometimes accused of "talking Left and acting Right," but who is now precipitated into a situation where action is the only test.

During the fat years of full employment, British trade union leaders, lulled by their own worship of the "welfare state" and their "partnership" in the external cold war, neglected to build up sizeable war chests. Tory lions, who never were a party to the class-struggle armistice which many Labour lambs conjured up, are smugly aware of that weakness.

FRANK COUSINS (CENTER), HEAD OF BRITAIN'S TRANSPORT WORKERS
He "talks Left, acts Right," but now faces the test of action

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W. E. B. DuBOIS LOOKS AHEAD

A vista of ninety fruitful years

By W. E. B. DuBois

Afric
CONGO
KENYA
RHODESIA

THIS IS THE MONTH of my 90th birthday. I have lived to an age which is increasingly distasteful to this nation. Unless by 60 a man has gained possession of enough to support himself without paid employment, he faces the distinct possibility of starvation. He is liable to lose his job and to refusal if he seeks another. At 70 he is frowned upon by the Church and if he is foolish enough to survive until 90, he is often regarded as a freak.

This is because in the face of human experience the United States has discovered that Youth knows more than Age. When a man of 35 becomes president of a great institution of learning or United States Senator or head of a multi-million dollar corporation, a cry of triumph rings in the land. Why? To pretend that 15 years bring of themselves more wisdom and understanding than 50 is a contradiction in terms.

Given a fool, a hundred years will not make him wise; but given an idiot, he will not be wise at 20. Youth is more courageous than age because it knows less. Age is wiser than youth because it knows more. This all mankind has affirmed from Egypt and China 5,000 years ago to Britain and Germany today.

THE UNITED STATES KNOWS BETTER. I would have been hailed with approval if I had died at 50. At 75 my death was practically requested. If living does not give value, wisdom and meaning to life, then there is no sense in living at all. If immature and inexperienced men rule the earth, then the earth deserves what it gets: the repetition of age-old mistakes, and wild welcome for what men knew a thousand years ago was disaster.

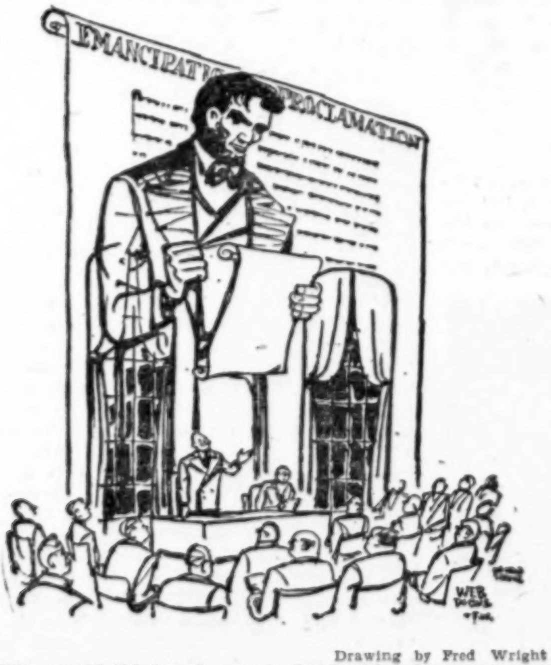
I do not apologize for living long. High on the ramparts of this blistering hell of life, I sit and see the Truth. I look it full in the face, and I will not lie about it, neither to myself nor to the world. I see my country as what Cedric Belfrage aptly characterizes as a "Frightened Giant," afraid of the Truth, afraid of Peace. I see a land which is degenerating and faces decadence, unless it has sense enough to turn about and start back.

It is no sin to fail. It is the habit of man. It is disaster to go on when you know you are going wrong. I judge this land not merely by statistics or reading lies agreed upon by historians. I judge by what I have seen, heard, and lived through for near a century.

THERE WAS A DAY WHEN the world rightly called Americans honest even if crude; earning their living by hard work; telling the truth no matter whom it hurt; and going to war only in what they believed a just cause after nothing else seemed possible.

Today we are lying, stealing, and killing. We call all this by finer names: Advertising, Free Enterprise, and National Defense. But names in the end deceive no one; today we use science to help us deceive our fellows; we take wealth that we never earned and we are devoting all our energies to kill, maim, and drive insane, men, women and children who dare refuse to do what we want done.

No nation threatens us. We threaten the world. Our President says that Foster Dulles is the wisest man he knows. If Dulles is wise, God help our fools—the fools who rule us.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"The world thinks of us as a land which has never enslaved anyone and which is animated by humane ideals."
—President Eisenhower in his State of the Union message to Congress, Jan. 9, 1958.

They know why we fail—these military masters of men—we haven't taught our children mathematics and physics. No, it is because we have not taught our children to read and write or to behave like human beings and not like hoodlums. Every child on my street is whooping it up with toy guns and big boys with real pistols. When Elvis Presley goes through the motions of copulation on the public stage it takes the city police force to hold back teen-age children from hysteria.

WHAT ARE WE DOING ABOUT IT? Half the Christian churches of New York are trying to ruin the free public schools in order to replace them by religious dogma; and the other half are too interested in Venezuelan oil to assist the best center in Brooklyn in fighting youthful delinquency, or to prevent a bishop from kicking William Howard Melish into the street and closing his church. Which of the hundreds of churches sitting half empty protests about this? None. They hire Billy Graham to replace the circus in Madison Square Garden.

All this must not be mentioned even if you know it and see it. America must never be criticized even by honest and sincere men. America must always be praised, or you lose your job or are ostracized or land in jail.

Criticism is treason, and treason or the hint of treason testified to by hired liars may be punished by shameful death. I saw Ethel Rosenberg lying beautiful in her coffin beside her mate. I tried to stammer futile words above her grave. But not over graves should we shout this failure of justice, but from the housetops of the world.

HONEST MEN MAY AND MUST criticize America: describe how she has ruined her democracy, sold out her jury system, and led her seats of justice astray. The only question that may arise is whether this criticism is based on truth, not whether it may be openly expressed.

What is truth? What can it be when the President of the United States, guiding the nation, stands up in public and says: **"The world also thinks of us as a land which has never enslaved anyone."** Everyone who heard this knew it was not true. Yet here stands the successor of George Washington who bought, owned, and sold slaves; the successor of Abraham Lincoln who freed four million slaves after they had helped him win victory over the slave-holding South. And so far as I have seen, not a single periodical, not even a Negro weekly, has dared challenge or even criticize that extraordinary falsehood.

This is what I call decadence. It could not have happened 50 years ago. In the day of our fiercest controversy we have not dared thus publicly to silence opinion. I have lived through disagreement, vilification, and war and war again. But in all that time, I have never seen the right of human beings to think so challenged and denied as today.

The day after I was born, Andrew Johnson was impeached. He deserved punishment as a traitor to the poor Southern whites and poorer freedmen. Yet during his life, no one denied him the right to defend himself.

A HALF CENTURY AGO, IN 1910, I tried to state and carry into realization unpopular ideas against a powerful opposition—in the white South, in the reactionary North, and even among my own people. I found my thought being misconstrued and I planned an organ of propaganda—**The Crisis**—where I would be free to say what I believed.

This was no easy sailing. My magazine reached but a fraction of the nation. It was bitterly attacked and once the government suppressed it. But in the end I maintained a platform of radical thinking on the Negro question which influenced many minds. War and depression ended my independence of thought and forced me to return to teaching, but with the certainty that I had at least started a new line of belief and action.

As a result of my work and that of others, the Supreme Court began to restore democracy in the South and finally outlawed discrimination in public services based on color. This caused rebellion in the South which the nation is afraid to meet.

The Negro stands bewildered and attempt is made by appointments to unimportant offices and trips abroad to bribe him into silence. His art and literature cease to function. He is scared. Only the children like those at Little Rock stand and fight.

THE YALE SOPHOMORE who replaced a periodical of brains by a book of pictures concealed in advertisements, proposed that America rule the world. This failed because we could not rule ourselves. But Texas to the rescue, as Lyndon Johnson proposes that America take over outer space. Somewhere beyond the moon there must be sentient creatures rolling in inextinguishable laughter at the antics of our earth.

We tax ourselves into poverty and crime so as to make the rich richer and bring more crime and poverty. We know the cause of this: it is to permit our rich business interests to stop socialism and to prevent the ideals of communism from ever triumphing on earth. The aim is impossible.

Socialism progresses and will progress. All we can do is to silence and jail its promoters. I believe in socialism. I seek a world where the ideals of communism will triumph—to each according to his need; from each according to his ability. For this I will work as long as I live. And I still live.

For Negro History Week

In this, the 33rd year of the annual observance of Negro History Week, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN is proud to use the occasion to salute the life and the work of Dr. DuBois—who above all others rescued Negro history from academic and political oblivion. In the next three pages are traced the highlights of his great career.

A life encompassing all but three years in the

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IN THE SPRING OF 1867 Albert DuBois, a Civil War veteran, came into the Housatonic valley of Massachusetts and married Mary Sylvina Burghardt. He was of French-West Indian descent and his father was a New Bedford shopkeeper. Mary's forebears had been slaves brought by Dutch planters into western Massachusetts. During the Revolutionary War her great-grandfather, Tom Burghardt, fought with the Revolutionary Army and thus won freedom for himself and his family. On Feb. 23, 1868, a son, William Edward Burghardt, was born to Alfred and Mary DuBois. Alfred died two years after his son was born and Mary raised her little boy with the help of a host of solicitous relatives. There was no abundance in the DuBois household, yet always enough, and the boy's childhood was happy.

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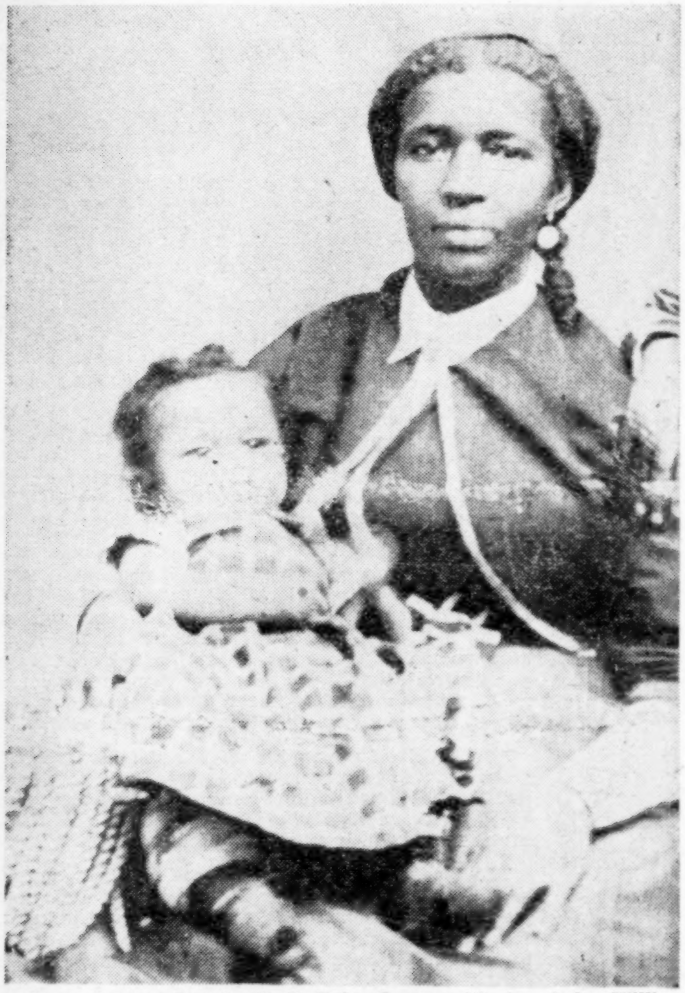
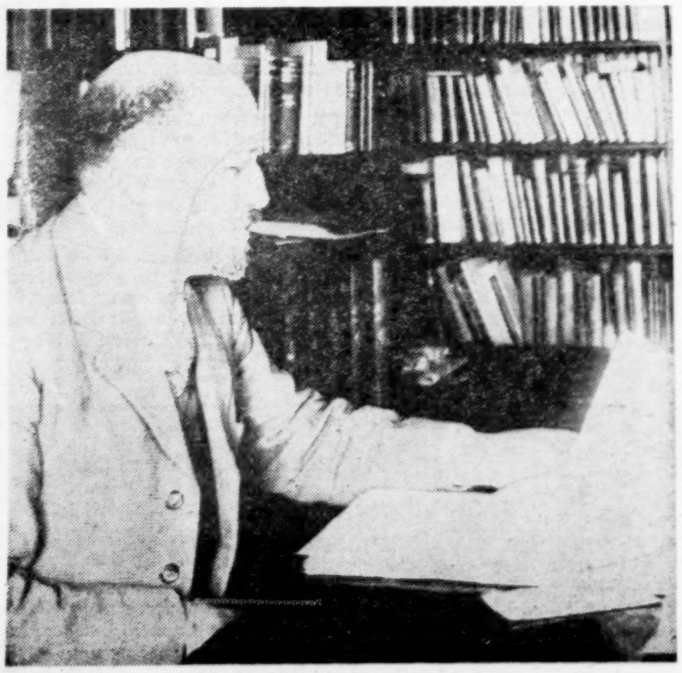
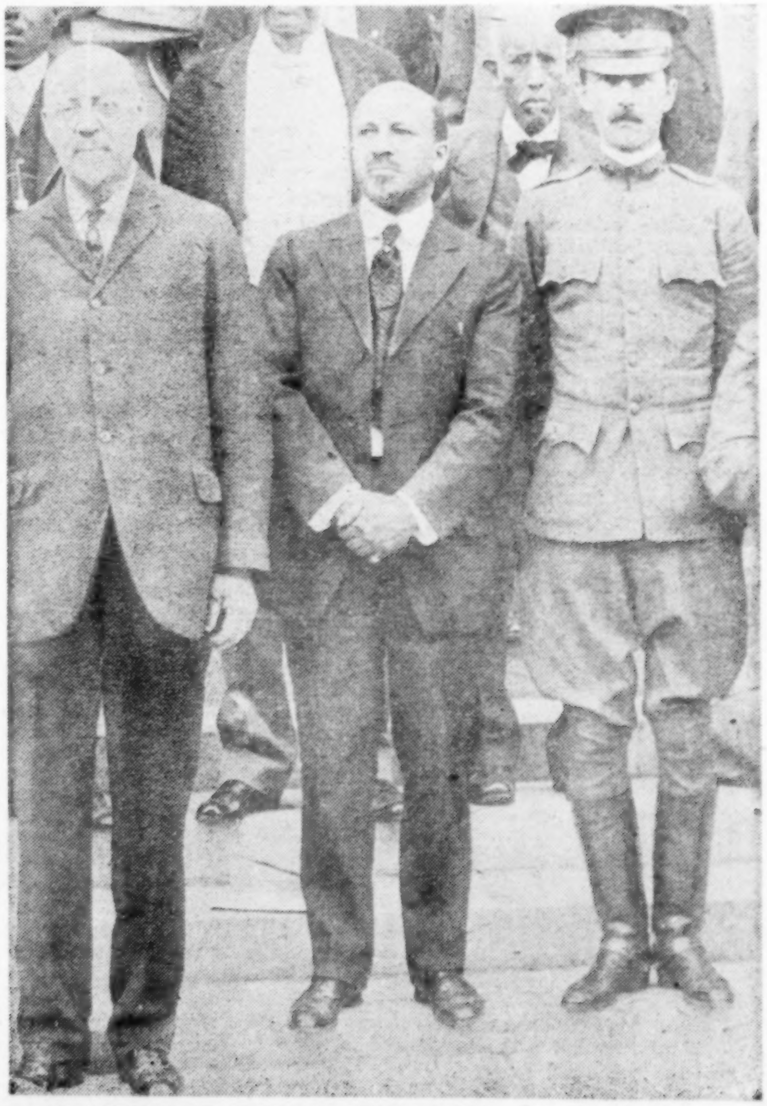


Mary Sylvina Burghardt DuBois, shown with her baby Willie, died in 1884, shortly after her son had graduated from high school.



Dr. DuBois is shown in 1915 in the editorial office of The Crisis, official organ of NAACP. He founded and edited the magazine from 1910 to 1934.

The boy grew strong and free. He was fleet of foot, good at games and better still at studies. At 16 he graduated from the Great Barrington High School in the class shown at right. Four churches in the community raised a scholarship fund for him; with the assistance of a former Federal Indian Agent he entered Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn., in 1885. He was graduated from Fisk in 1888. That fall he entered Harvard as a Junior on a scholarship.

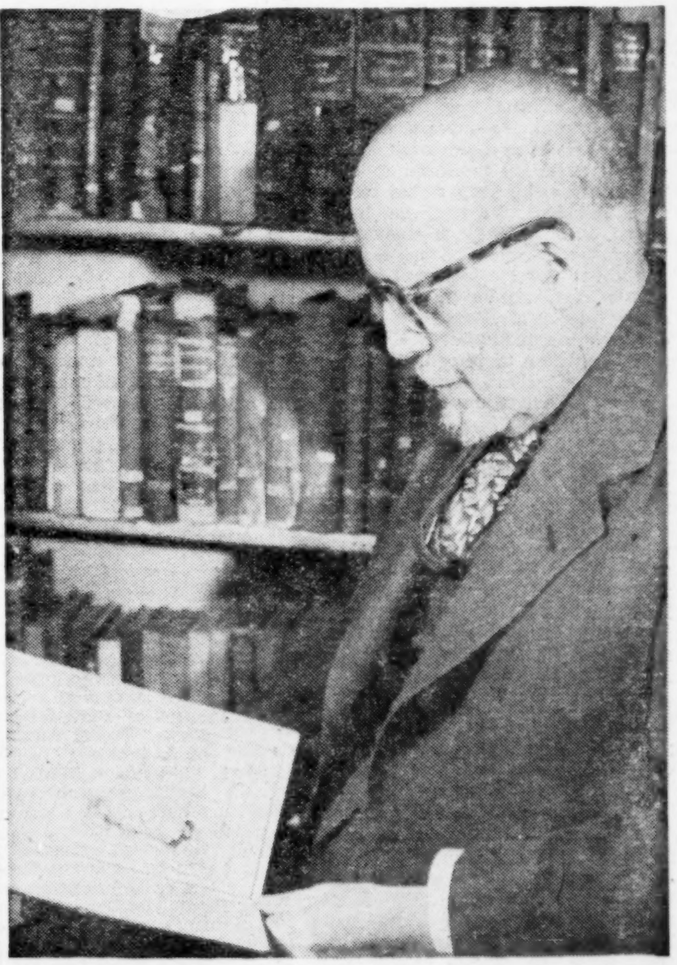


In 1917 Judge Robert H. Terrell, Dr. DuBois & Col. Joel E. Spingarn consulted with government officials on condition of the Negro.

Negroes' history as free men in the United States

The Niagara Movement was inaugurated at a meeting held at Buffalo, N.Y., July 11-13, 1905. The delegates, including DuBois, 2nd from l., posed for photo above. The next year the movement met at Harpers Ferry, Va., on ground hallowed by the martyrdom of John Brown. DuBois delivered an historic address from which the following is taken: "We shall not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans." The Niagara Movement was the forerunner of NAACP.

Dr. DuBois was awarded the Sixth Spingarn Medal by the NAACP at the organization's 11th annual conference at Atlanta, Ga., in 1920. He is shown, above, accepting the award which was presented in recognition of his work in organizing the Pan-African Congress in Paris in 1919. In photo at left Dr. DuBois, center, marches down New York's Fifth Ave. in the 1917 Silent Parade Against Lynching.



Today, at 90, Dr. DuBois continues to use his powerful pen on behalf of Negro freedom. He has completed a trilogy entitled The Black Flame. This is the story of a Negro family in three generations, beginning with the period of "black reconstruction" and coming down to the present. The first volume, The Ordeal of Mansart, was published in 1957. The two succeeding volumes are to be published this year and next. Dr. DuBois is the only living American who has been listed in every issue of Who's Who since it began publication in 1898.

'SUPPOSE THERE HAD BEEN NO DuBOIS!'

An American titan in a time of mediocrity

At the N.Y. World Peace Conference, March, 1949, Dr. DuBois with Soviet composer Shostakovich and Bishop A. W. Moulton.

Familiar figure at GUARDIAN dinners, the doctor here wishes US a happy birthday.

A staunch supporter of independent political action, he is shown above with the late Congressman Vito Marcantonio.

By Louis E. Burnham

WE LIVE IN A CURIOUS time—when society offers its highest rewards not to its truly great men and women, but to pliant mediocrity. Even the weak-kneed and the knuckle-headed may be assured a handsome recompense and momentary notoriety; they need only help foster the grotesque illusion that English-speaking white capitalists living in the United States somehow deserve to run the world.

It is our good fortune, then, that an American titan still lives and works among us, whose whole life disproves this lie. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois embodies the qualities which made America great and must yet rescue her from the disaster toward which our politicians seek to lead us and the world.

DUBOIS FIRST ATTRACTED wide attention by what was then considered an act of uncommon daring. At the dawn of the 20th century Booker T. Washington was at the crest of his popularity and influence as **the** Negro leader in the United States. To buy peace in a bitter racial struggle and support for industrial education, he had offered to surrender the Negro citizenship rights to a resurgent Rebel South and an indifferent North. In Negro life he seemed immune to open, well-conceived criticism.

But in 1903 DuBois wrote **The Souls of Black Folk.** In it he included an essay titled "Of Mr. Washington and Others." He insisted "that voting is necessary to modern manhood, that color discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys."

Looking back across the span of 55 years, one is impressed that the entire movement for Negro equality today moves forward under this banner first hoisted by DuBois. Today's Negro leaders—even those who stubbornly and stupidly refuse to recognize his existence—say nothing more in their demands for equality than DuBois said first in 1903 and more fully in the 1906 Credo of the Niagara Movement. And for the most part they say it not so well as he did then.

DUBOIS himself, however, was quick, not to abandon, but to move beyond his first positions. Early in his career he learned that

"No racial option narrows grief,
Pain is no patriot . . ."

He was a Negro "with unwavering faith in the inherent possibilities of his race." But he saw no way of fulfilling these possibilities by merely "a narrow racial propaganda." Thus he wrote in 1915: "Already the more far-seeing Negroes sense the coming unities: a unity of the working classes everywhere, a unity of the colored races, a new unity of men."

He organized five Pan-African Congresses between 1919 and 1945. At the last, in Manchester, England, Kenyatta and Nkrumah sought his tutelage. As new nations come to birth on the African continent, they look to this native of New England, birthplace of American liberty, as the godfather of their own independence. As Africa joins Asia at Bandung and Cairo, three-fourths of mankind achieve a unity which DuBois foretold 43 years ago.

In 1951 Dr. DuBois married the writer Shirley Graham. At their Brooklyn Heights home he continues to live an active scholarly life devoted to peace and human progress.

BUT THREE-FOURTHS is not the whole of mankind. DuBois has understood European development better than most Americans. He said in 1915: "The proposed economic solution of the Negro problem in Africa and America has turned the thoughts of Negroes toward a realization of the fact that the modern white laborer of Europe and America has the key to the serfdom of black folk, in his support of militarism and colonial expansion. He is beginning to say to these workingmen that, so long as black laborers are slaves, white laborers cannot be free."

In 1928 he visited the Soviet Union for the first time—"a never-to-be-forgotten experience." He saw socialism as the "one great road to progress" and the key to achieving the highest unity, that of all mankind.

Such views have never been popular in the United States. After the end of World War II they became anathema. But DuBois was not one to falter on that account. He had early determined not to cast his lot with those "who sit in cloistered ease, hesitate from action and seek sweetness and light." Rather he would "say ugly things to an ugly world . . . make this world so damned uncomfortable with its nasty burden of evil that it tries to get good and does get better."

BUT THIS WORLD could never get better reeling from one brink of atomic destruction to the next. DuBois became a front-running partisan of peace. He wrote and spoke for its realization and against its enemies. He joined others in America and in other nations in sponsoring the Stockholm appeal to ban atomic weapons. When he was 83, the United States indicted him as a foreign agent, an act which Vito Marcantonio called "this last outrage against the freedom of the American people." The outrage could not stand and DuBois and his colleagues were acquitted.

Today, at 90, he lives and works on. He is guided by a precept he wrote in 1903—that "it is wrong to encourage a man or a people in evil-doing; it is wrong to aid and abet a national crime simply because it is unpopular not to do so."

His life encompasses all but three years of the Negroes' history as free men in the United States. In 1953, in observance of the 50th anniversary of **The Souls of Black Folk,** the writer J. Saunders Redding exclaimed: "Suppose there had been no DuBois! One sickens at the thought."

Redding spoke in terms of the stern struggles of Negroes for their freedom. Some day, as this nation enters an era of real peace and brotherhood, a generation of free men and women will recall this great son and seer and echo Redding's words: "Suppose there had been no DuBois!"

Sixty-two years of literary work by DuBois

1896: **The Supression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America,** Harvard University Press. Republished by Social Science Press, New York, 1954. (First Volume of Harvard Historical Series and authoritative for 60 years.)

1899: **The Philadelphia Negro,** University of Pennsylvania Press. (Model American sociological study; one of the first of its kind.)

1903: **Souls of Black Folk,** A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. Jubilee Edition published by Blue Heron Press, New York, 1953.. (Most widely read work; 24 editions here and in England.)

1909: **John Brown,** George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia. (An important contribution to an understanding of John Brown.)

1911: **Quest of the Silver Fleece,** A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. (A novel of cotton culture and Northern teachers.)

1915: **The Negro,** Henry Holt & Co., New York, and Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London. (First history of the whole of Africa ever attempted. Published in Home University Library Series.)

1920: **Darkwater,** Austin Jenkins Co., Washington, D.C. (A set of essays and poetry.)

1896-1914: **Atlanta University Studies,** Atlanta University Press, Atlanta. (A series of studies and reports on all phases of the Negro Problem. First attempt at scientific study of race relations in America.)

1924: **Gift of Black Folk,** The Stratford Co., Boston. (A study of the contribution of the Negro to American culture.)

1928: **Dark Princess,** Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York. (A romance of the unified effort of colored peoples to gain equality throughout the whole world.) Republished by Russell & Russell, 80 E. 11 St., New York, 1957.

1935: **Black Reconstruction,** Harcourt, Brace & Co., Republished by Russell & Russell, 80 E. 11 St., New York, 1957. (A refutation of concerted attack on the enfranchisement of the freedman and a statement of what was accomplished by Negroes in Reconstruction.)

1938: **Black Folk Then and Now,** Henry Holt and Co., New York. (A continuation and enlargement of history of the Negro race begun in **The Negro.**)

1940: **Dusk of Dawn.** Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York. (The author's concept of the race problem as shown in his own life.)

1945: **Color and Democracy,** Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York. (A discussion of the right of Negroes and other colored folk to share in white democracy.)

1947: **The World and Africa,** Viking Press, New York. (A summary of the history of Africa and white domination.)

1952: **In Battle for Peace,** Comments by Shirley Graham, Masses & Mainstream, 832 Broadway, New York. (Story of the attempt of the U.S. Government to imprison Dr. DuBois for advocating peace.)

1957-59: **The Black Flame:** A trilogy of historical fiction, Mainstream Publishers, New York. (The American Negro from 1874 to 1956). Vol. I, **The Ordeal of Mansart.**

AN INTERVIEW WITH BORIS PASTERNAK

Soviet writer tells why he wrote 'Dr. Zhivago'

The novel Dr. Zhivago, *by Soviet poet and novelist Boris Pasternak, has been published in an Italian translation and is about to be brought out in England. Western critics have called it a "religious" book. It deals with the adventures of a "humanist" doctor and his family in the Bolshevik revolution and since.*

The doctor is said to be shocked at atrocities on both sides of the Revolution, seeing in it both a "monstrous machine" and a "master operation" that at one stroke cuts out all "the old suppurating wounds." The book is said to depict revolutionary leaders as "active men, fanatical sectaries, geniuses of self-limitation." Pasternak reportedly describes the suppressions in Soviet society and terms the New Economic Policy "the most ambiguous and false of the Soviet periods." The book ends hailing the post-war "presage of freedom." The interview below casts new light on both the author and the book which has caused such a literary stir.

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

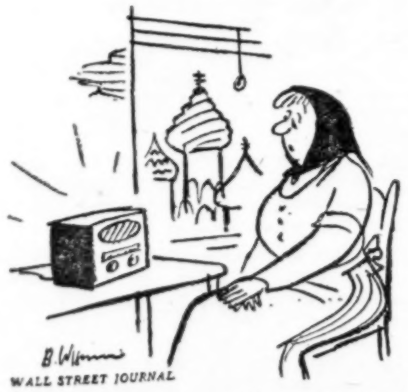
MOSCOW

AT TIMES, it was like being plunged back into 19th century Russia. Snow-covered pine slopes. Horse-drawn sleighs tinkling past the lane which led to the double-storied log cabin with snow thick on the roof. The appearance of Boris Pasternak himself, his massive head covered with a mat of grey-white hair. His excited greeting in French, German and English almost simultaneously until he established the nationality of his guests. The semi-mystic nature of much of the conversation seemed a century removed from the Moscow we had left for a 40-minute drive to Peredelkino, the village where Pasternak has his country dacha.

We were five correspondents, come to hear from Pasternak himself the story of his novel, **Dr. Zhivago.** It had caused a minor sensation in the West, because an Italian Communist publishing house decided to go ahead and print it despite Moscow requests for the return of the manuscript.

WHY HE WROTE IT: On the walls of Pasternak's spacious study were originals of his father's illustrations for Tolstoy's **Resurrection.** Among the few books—he explained that his library was in his Moscow home—was a large copy of the Bible, Melville's **Moby Dick,** Virginia Woolf's essays, works of Dickens, Schiller, Kafka and others.

As for **Dr. Zhivago:** "I found that as far as I am known abroad at all," Pasternak said, "it is as a writer of esoteric, impressionist poetry. I was ashamed of this. I wanted to write something serious, a prose work, something that would cost effort, work—and who knows what. I was in a crisis and wanted to get out of it. An artistic crisis," he explained in his halting English. (Throughout his interview he fumbled around with words and phrases in four languages until he found the exact formulations he wanted in English.) "I have never been involved in politics," he added, "but I was in a state of crisis. From artistic desperation sometimes comes artistic inspiration. And so I wrote my book."



Wall Street Journal

"Will Svetlana's scheme work? Or, will Tatiana's scheme work? Who will become forelady of the labor battalion? Tune in tomorrow for the thrilling . . ."

He had started writing it before Stalin's death and finished it about 18 months ago. (On a very broad canvas, in a quarter of a million words, the novel paints episodes in the lives of a multitude of personalities of different origins and education. Zhivago, a doctor of medicine, is the central figure.)

Pasternak said he submitted it to several publishing houses and literary reviews. In one Moscow publishing house it was accepted and an enthusiastic young editor, "a Communist whom I like very much," Pasternak said, agreed to edit the work.

DELAY ASKED: The manuscript was also given to Feltrinelli, head of a Communist publishing house in Milan. Pasternak continued that he was asked to request the Italian publishers to delay publication by six months since it would take at least that time to edit the work in Russian.

At the end of the six-month period, his Moscow publisher asked him to get the manuscript back from Italy because certain cuts would have to be made and the version published abroad should be the same as that published in Moscow. Pasternak cabled Feltrinelli, but the latter said he was going ahead with the publication. A representative of the Soviet Ministry of Culture went to Milan—but Feltrinelli refused to delay publication.

"Did you agree with the proposed cuts?" we asked Pasternak.

"Yes, I did."

"Would the cuts harm your book?"

"No, they would not," he replied.

"Do you regret that the book is being published in its present form abroad?"

"I regret all the noise that has been made about it abroad," he said, and added: "Most people that have written about the book have never read it. They have quoted at most three pages out of a book of 700 pages. Every critic that writes about it abroad, quotes the same few phrases. The quotes they use do not give a true picture of the book. Without all the fuss, the book would have been published here with a few pages less and the correct version would have been published abroad."

"Was the work autobiographical?"

"No. But based on the lives and experiences of friends of mine, writers, artists, professors, doctors."

"Do the characters express your own ideas?"

"There cannot be oneness in art," he replied. "Works of art are very complex, they must not have a single aspect. A book has its own existence. Characters in it say right things and wrong things. Everything they say cannot express the beliefs of the author."

"Is the book an indictment of Soviet society?"

"No," he said very emphatically. "It deals with episodes in the history of a family. It does not deal with an era."

NEW SPIRIT: Later, during toasts and snacks in the dining room, Pasternak said: "I am grateful that Soviet writers educated me. Before I was an esoteric, a symbolist. Now I am a realist."

"A socialist realist?" we asked. "No, but I am grateful to the socialist realists that they made me a realist. And I am grateful to my country and to our society, because everything that I am was made by them."

Replying to questions as to his own feelings about the Russian Revolution, Pasternak said: "The Revolution has achieved its goal. The age of proclamations and declamations is over. There is a new spirit abroad. You can feel it in the air, in the trees which are budding, the grass which is growing, the babes being born. It is everywhere."

What the new spirit was, he did not say, but among the closing lines of his book, there is perhaps a clue to what he meant. They are from the notebook found after Zhivago's death, in which he had recorded his intimate reflections of all he had experienced after the stress and storm of revolution, civil war and all that went on before, during, and after the Second World War:

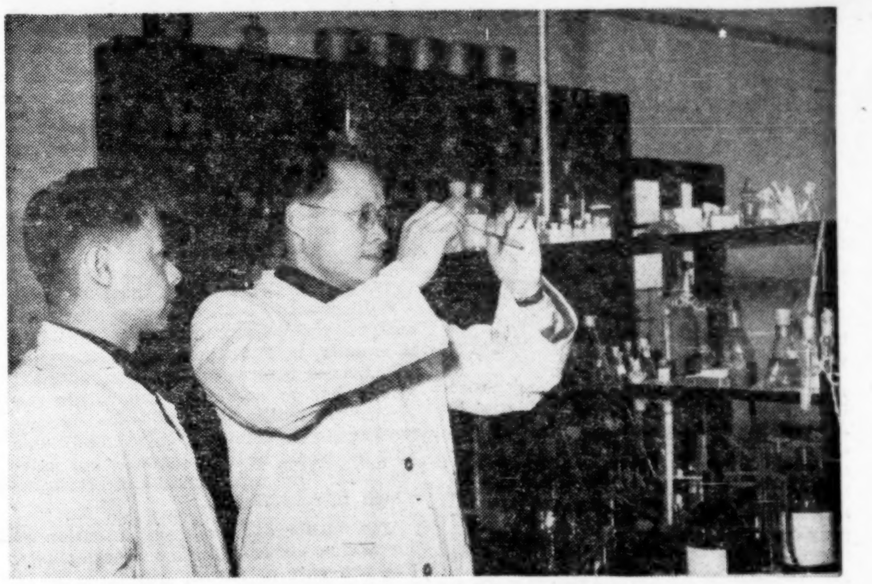
"Though the clarification and freedom that were hoped for after the war had not come with the victory as they had thought, this did not matter; the presage of freedom was in the air in the post-war years and constituted their only historic content."

THE OLD AND THE NEW: Among much that was said in the language of parables during the unforgettable afternoon with Pasternak, he showed himself a strict realist on one point at least. Asked what he thought was the most important achievement of the Revolution, he replied promptly: "The destruction of property rights. This made us a new nation."

Pasternak does not fit into the pattern of a Soviet writer of the generation of Ilya Ehrenburg. He has one foot firmly planted in the 19th century. He belongs to the same school of salon revolutionaries as the wealthy Christian uncle of Zhivago in his novel. From his reference to "artistic crisis" and "artistic desperation," I had the feeling that Pasternak—now 67—was trying to tell us that with his impressionist, symbolist poems and translations, he felt he had stood aside for too long from the realities and sufferings—often the brutalities—born of a revolution. **Dr. Zhivago is** the answer.

But it is a comforting thought that Pasternak exists and writes and has done so ever since the Revolution. I am assured also that **Dr. Zhivago** will soon be published in the Soviet Union.

Pasternak would now be in the United States, had it not been for John Foster Dulles. He and another Soviet professor were to have gone to the U.S.A. this year to lecture in U.S. universities and two American professors were to come to Moscow, as part of an agreement on cultural exchanges. But the State Dept. killed the scheme.



TO CATCH UP WITH THE WORLD
Chinese scientists study composition of streptomycin

A 12-YEAR PLAN

USSR aids China's scientists

MOSCOW

WITH THE HELP OF THE Soviet Union, China is starting a 12-year plan to bring scientific work there up to advanced world standards. A Chinese scientific delegation has recently been in Moscow, checking the plan with leading Soviet scientists. Heading the delegation was Kuo Mo Jo, president of the Academia Sinica, who granted me an interview on Sino-Soviet scientific cooperation.

"If one considers not just pure science, but also technical help," Kuo Mo Jo said, "then we have already had very great aid from the Soviet Union. For instance, in our first five-year plan the Soviet Union had agreed to help us build 131 industrial plants, power plants and other factories. But by the end of the five-year plan this figure was increased to 205." He also cited the aid given by Soviet specialists in designing the bridge now spanning the mighty Yangtse river at Hangkow and who actually helped build the bridge.

VAST PROJECTS: "Our Academia Sinica is now organized along the same lines as the Soviet Academy of Science," Kuo Mo Jo said. "And this facilitates our cooperation. This takes many forms. For instance, the Soviet Union is now helping us build an atomic reactor which will lay the basis for our atomic power industry. Soviet and Chinese scientists are carrying out joint research in the tropical regions of China. We are carrying out joint work studying the flora and fauna and other natural phenomena along the Amur river. The Soviet Union, China, Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, under a quadripartite agreement for research along the West Pacific coast, are studying among other things the habits and movement of fish in that area. We are studying aspects of the national question together, the question of language of ethnic minorities. But the list is a very long one."

Kuo Mo Jo spoke about the establishment of the new Soviet scientific branch academy in Siberia. "This is of great importance to China also," he said. "This will help us solve problems common to both our countries. We have climatic conditions in our country which differ from the Soviet Union, tropical regions in the South for instance. Joint studies there can also be useful."

MAJOR PROBLEMS: Kuo Mo Jo said the first thing in drawing up the 12-year science plan was to choose the most important problems to be tackled. "We listed 57 most important tasks facing Chinese scientists and technologists. These were further divided into 12 of major importance and 45 of lesser importance. Among the 12 for instance are the peaceful use of atomic energy; electrification of the country's economy; mechanization of agriculture; introduction of new techniques including technical progress and research in radio-electronics; the development of jet engines for aircraft and other problems. We consider that in creating the scientific and technical base to solve these 12 major problems, the solution of the remainder will be facilitated."

W. B.

BOOKS

American civilization seen as unique in itself

MAX LERNER'S LATEST BOOK*, a vast, sprawling study of American institutions, customs, thought and culture, was 12 years in the making and is an impressive feat of scholarship. The book is informative, stimulating and provocative.

It is an ambitious effort to synthesize and reassess the turbulent chaos that is America and to illuminate those aspects of American life which have been characterized as the "air-conditioned nightmare." It is a mixture of perceptive insights and exasperating omissions, epigrams and banalities, poetic evocations and dry-as-dust descriptions. There is something in it for every man.

The book is built around the central proposition that America is a distinct and, in many ways, unique civilization, not merely a precocious offshoot of European civilization. "Every great system of European thought, from Marx to Toynbee," he writes, "saw America as at best an appendage of the larger 'Western' system which was at the mercy of its inner laws of disintegration and decay. They did not grasp the import of this new world power . . . waxing in strength while other nations were waning, perhaps even **because** the others were waning."

NO ONE WOULD DENY that American history has been conditioned by special or unique circumstances. But this is equally true for all countries. What Mr. Lerner forgets is that the "special" always has to work itself out within the framework of the "general"—that unique features will condition the complexion and tempo of historical events but cannot alter the fundamental direction in which history flows.

The author disclaims any intention of furnishing either indictment or apology. Yet the careful reader will come away with the impression that the seamy side of American life is treated entirely too perfunctorily.

Does not the appalling fact that the American economy is able to maintain a precarious equilibrium only by means of massive arms expenditures call for more detailed treatment than a single apologetic paragraph? Does not the fact that in recent years America spent more than one and a half times as much on liquor as on public education require more than passing mention? Why are concentration camps magically transformed into "emergency detention camps" when they are found on American soil; and why is the American soldier who employs racist epithets indulgently described as "only expressing his sense of the strangeness of finding himself fighting for or against peoples so alien to his experience"?

MAX LERNER
He skips the seamy side

LERNER'S BOOK has been lauded as a modern-day version of De Tocqueville's nineteenth century classic, **Democracy in America.** There are several reasons for doubting this. De Tocqueville was concerned with basic causes and ultimate consequences, with the fundamental facts shaping and directing the thrust of American history. As historian Henry Steele Commager put it, "he had an instinct for the jugular vein in history."

Lerner, on the other hand, is concerned chiefly with describing the surface phenomena of American civilization, the sights and sounds and small talk—the hows but not the whys. He touches frequently on vital problems but rarely probes the significance, the consequence.

It could scarcely be otherwise since the author candidly admits that the book was designed as "a memorandum on American history couched not in terms of forces, causes or events but of images picked from the national tradition. What it recalls is not 'eras' and 'factors' but dramatic moments, crisis situations, sometimes only stereotyped episodes and hackneyed slogans."

PERHAPS a key to the basic difference between De Tocqueville's **Democracy in America** and Lerner's **America As A Civilization** is in the fact that the former was written to inform the European while the latter seems intended to assuage the heart-burnings of the American, to comfort him in his insecurity and to assure him that he is a cut above other men.

The book has a strongly optimistic tenor. Yet the numerous adverse aspects of American life, which the author hurries over with apparent embarrassment, create a growing tension in the exposition.

The survey closes with a tinge of pessimism: "The crucial question about America's destiny in the world frame brings us back to the tests of America's strength as a civilization. It is hard not to feel that while America is still on the rising arc of its world power it is on the descending arc of its inner social and moral vigor; that it has allowed itself to be switched off from the main path of its development into the futile dead ends of the fear of ideas and the tenacious cult of property."

This is something that needed saying. We're glad Mr. Lerner said it!

—Alfred Evenitsky

* *AMERICA AS A CIVILIZATION by Max Lerner. Simon and Schuster, 630 Fifth Av., N.Y. xiii, 1936 pp. $10.*

Alfred Evenitsky is an economist who served with the Office of Price Administration in Washington, later as statistician for the U.S. Military Government in Korea and Economic Historian of the Far East Command in Tokyo. He is Book Review Editor of Science and Society.

SHENANIGANS IN THE DRUG INDUSTRY

Integrity and the Big Money

WHEN THE PRICE of penicillin to the American consumer finally began to drop under the pressure of mass-production methods and popular demand, one pharmaceutical expert quipped that it was "a drug on the market." The remark was an implicit recognition that vast and powerful corporate forces operate in the little-known industry that makes and sells our life-and-death prescription drugs.

The pharmaceutical industry, containing some of the business giants of U.S. chemical manufacturing whose annual dollar volume rockets well up into hundreds of millions, is not as well known to the people as it should be. It is said (but not openly admitted) that the drugstore price of prescription products is roughly ten times the manufacturing cost.

It is of this industry that Jay Deiss writes in **The Blue Chips,*** subtitled "a novel about big business medicine." Rather, it is about the scientists who are acquired by the industry to discover new drugs, benefit humanity, and keep the stockholders happy. Industries are run by business men; scientists are notoriously naive and filled with noble sentiments. In this case, Howell Winslow, Ph.D., a microbiologist, is lured into a big pharmaceutical company and directed to lead his "team" to the discovery of a new antibiotic.

WINSLOW IS NOT a man to resist overlong the temptations of money, power, the kudos of directors, bankers, prominent clubmen, and the highly sexed advances of a boss's daughter. But his fall is not precipitate. In the laboratory his lingering scientific ideals find an echo in a woman microbiologist who contributes significantly to the discovery of "Multicillin," and it is in their foredoomed love affair that the story's conflicts have their focus.

The elements of a valuable expose are all present in this novel—an industry supposedly serving the people, scientists assigned to eminently humanitarian tasks, business tycoons talking from both sides of their months while plotting for profits and corporate control. It is regrettable, therefore, that the novel does not emerge as a wholly satisfactory social and literary work.

THE DENOUMENT, for example, finds Dr. Winslow saving the company from disaster when a glamorous Hollywood star is almost killed by his new drug. He then wins the company presidency, abandoning all pretense of principle and demonstrating the final erosion of scientific integrity. Nowhere in the story is there a direct relationship established between these horrors of corporate finagling and the millions of people whose lives may depend on the industry.

Despite these shortcomings, the book pries open an intriguing view of an important segment of big business. Jay Deiss started on a good path in an earlier novel, **A Washington Story,** about the persecution of "un-Americans," and is staying on the track. One hopes he will deepen the penetration in his future writing.

—Peter L. Acebo

* *THE BLUE CHIPS, by Jay Deiss. Simon and Schuster, N. Y. 373 pp. $4.50.*

Lavoro, Rome

Peter L. Acebo is the pseudonym of a writer on medical subjects.

'THE DAY IS COMING'

A political biography of Ruthenberg

THE MATTERS OF TACTICS and dogma which currently atomize left-wing American politics are of long standing. Yet bitter sectarian differences must be overcome if the thaw in the Cold War is to result in a significant resurgence of socialist-oriented activity. A knowledge of the history of working-class parties and their leading personalities in the U.S. will help in distinguishing real issues from false, differences of principle from partisan bickering.

In these terms, this political biography of Charles E. Ruthenberg* is rewarding reading. Ruthenberg joined the Socialist Party in Cleveland in 1908. At the time of his death in 1927 he was general secretary of the Communist Party. **The Day Is Coming** recounts Ruthenberg's hard work to build the Socialist Party of Cleveland and Ohio in the decade prior to World War I; his involvment in the struggles of garment workers, miners and city laborers for better pay and conditions; his many campaigns for elective office; his career in and out of state and federal penitentiaries, and his emergence as a principal leader of the Left in the ceaseless struggle between Right and Left within the Party.

"IMPOSSIBILISM": This struggle, which centered around differing attitudes toward reform, political action and the trade unions, reached the breaking point on the question of U.S. involvment in World War I. Right-winger Victor Berger called the Ruthenberg anti-war group the "Impossibilist" wing of the Party at the SP St. Louis convention in 1917. But during the same year Ruthenberg polled 27,685 votes for Mayor of Cleveland and, by his vigorous campaigning, carried two Socialists into the city council and one onto the board of education.

Oakley C. Johnson, himself a veteran of socialist activities, gives a well-organized and straightforward account of the son of a Cleveland dock worker who became an important figure in the early 20th century development of the Marxist movement in the U.S. This book fills a gap in the historical treatment of American political movements.

—L. E. B.

**THE DAY IS COMING, Oakley C. Johnson; cloth edition $3, paper, $1.90; 192 pp., International Publishers, 381 Fourth Av., N.Y. 16.*

Spaceling's Lullaby

(Tune: Sleep, Baby, Sleep)

Bye, baby, bye,
Man's moons are in the sky
And man will ride those moons some day
Out among the stars to play—
Bye, baby, bye.

Bye, baby, bye,
The man-made moons ride high.
Their tiny lights will cross our sky,
Let's watch and count them, you and I—
Bye, baby, bye.

—R.K.

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Text of Presidential Appeal

BECAUSE OUR COUNTRY

has the strength to recognize possible errors and the humanity to be merciful;

BECAUSE THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS

believe that Morton Sobell did not have a fair trial; consider his 30-year sentence in Alcatraz cruel and inhuman punishment;

BECAUSE MORTON SOBELL

has steadfastly maintained his innocence throughout his seven years of imprisonment and continues his efforts to secure a new trial;

for these reasons I join with my fellow Americans in asking you to return Morton Sobell to his wife and children through executive pardon or commutation, or by instructing the Attorney General to recommend a new trial.

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Los Angeles 4, California

Golden Rule

(Continued from Page 1)

sailing a Sunday public "worship meeting" was held on the pier in San Pedro where 'The Golden Rule' was tied. Before it left on Feb. 10, another smaller "worship meeting" sent it on its way.

2,000 SCIENTISTS SIGN: Meanwhile the Fedn. of American Scientists, representing 2,000 scientists and engineers, last week urged a ban on nuclear testing. They advocated these steps to world peace in addition to the ban on tests: a UN monitoring system to check on observances of the ban and control tests of long-range missiles; making public all studies of long-range missiles, satellites and space platforms; creating a permanent UN police force.

The ban on tests, the Federation's council said, should be effected "independent of all other agreements." That step would prevent other nations from entering the nuclear arms race, the council statement said, and "allay the fear aroused by the potential hazards of radioactive fallout."

FACES TWENTY YEARS

Travis convicted again under Taft-Hartley Act

MAURICE E. TRAVIS, former secy.-treas. of the independent Intl. Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, last week was convicted for the second time of filing a false non-communist oath under the Taft-Hartley Law. His first conviction was reversed on appeal.

After an 18-day trial in Denver the jury deliberated three hours before finding him guilty. Travis, who was a leader of the union when it faced its most bitter attacks from employers and government probers, faces a maximum sentence of 20 years in jail and a $40,000 fine. District Judge Lee Knous deferred sentencing.

NEW YORK

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- EDITH SEGAL and her Youth Dance Group
Tickets: $1 incl. tax at all clubs and box office.
Ausp: Bx. Comm. of Jewish Societies

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CALENDAR

Boston, Mass.

PUBLIC MEETING
MURRAY WEISS, Editor, "International Review" speaks on
AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM
Thurs., Feb. 20, 8 p.m., Workers Educational Center, Gainsboro Bldg., 295 Huntington Av. — Ausp: Soc. Workers Party.

SCOTT NEARING reports on trip to USSR and East (just returned) Sun., Feb. 23, 10:45 a.m. Conservatory Auditorium, 31 Hemenway St.

Chicago

Hear **JOSEPH STAROBIN**
on
"A Radical View of America's Crisis in The Age of Sputnik"
Thurs. Feb 27 8 p.m.
Adm. 90c — Students 60c.
Music Room, 410 S. Michigan
Auspices: E. V. Debs Forum.

Detroit

A. J. MUSTE
of the American Forum for Socialist Education will speak on
SPUTNIKS, MISSILES & PEACE
Thurs., Feb. 20 8 p.m.
Central Methodist Church, 4th fl.
23 E. Adams at Woodward. Free.

FREEDOM & FRIENDSHIP RALLY Sun., Feb. 23, 2:30 p.m., at Freedom House, 6331 Chene St. Hear: **STANLEY NOWAK**, "Our Glorious American Heritage," **REV. CHARLES A. HILL**, "Freedom Road—1958." See a magnificent color film on World Friendship. Sponsor: American Heritage Committee.

Los Angeles

"FREEDOM DAY"
A musical dramatization from
John O. Killens' "Youngblood"
Repeat performance for Brotherhood Month
Fri. Feb. 28, 8 p.m. $1.
First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St.

BELLAMY CLUB presents Margaret Simkin, State Pres. Women's Int. League for Peace & Freedom, on "Our Responsibility For Sane Nuclear Policy." Wed., Feb. 26, 6:30 p.m. Clifton's Cafeteria, 648 B'way, (upstairs). Discussion follows.

KEEP THIS DATE OPEN: Negro History Week Celebration Fri., Feb. 21, 8 p.m., Park Manor, 607 S. Western Av. Speaker: Dr. **Price C. Cobbs, Sr.** Entertainment: Frank Greenwood, Touring Actors' Group, Sergio Perez, Mexican Folk Singer. Proceeds: 9 Negro students in Little Rock, Ausp: L.A. Comm. Prot. Foreign Born.

Berkeley, Calif.

Celebrate Washington's Birthday and help free **Morton Sobell**. PARTY, Feb. 22, 8:30 p.m., 2724 Alcatraz, Berkeley (above college). New Sobell film, entertainment, refreshments. Don. $1. Sponsor: East Bay Sobell Committee.

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DR. OTTO NATHAN
Tues., Feb. 18, 8:30-10 p.m.

CHINA AND INDIA*
India Before Independence
KUMAR GOSHAL
Wed., Feb. 19, 6:45-8:15 p.m.

SCIENCE AND MODERN LIFE*
The Origin of Life
IRVING ADLER
Wed., Feb. 19, 8:30-10 p.m.

THE CONTEMPORARY NOVEL**
From Defoe to Dreiser
DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
Thurs., Feb. 20, 6:45-8-15 p.m.

STATE AND SOCIETY
Capitalism and Democracy
DR. STANLEY MOORE
Thurs., Feb. 20, 8:30-10 p.m.

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REVIEW OF THE WEEK
A Marxist Analysis of Current Events and Books
"Here I Stand"—A Review of the just-published book of
PAUL ROBESON
Fri., Feb. 14 8:15 p.m.
ADELPHI HALL, 74 5th Av. — Adm. $1.

SUNDAY EVENING FORUMS
Sun. Feb. 16 8:15 p.m.
"Cast Off This Albatross—Now!"
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
- Who Pays for Jim Crow?
- New Vistas for Negro Freedom

• • • • •

Sun. Feb. 23 8:15 p.m.
"Unity in The Socialist World"
ROBERT THOMPSON
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- The 64-Party Peace Manifesto

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PETE SEEGER & all-star cast of folk artists appear at Carnegie Hall Sat., Feb. 22nd, midnight, in program under auspices of folksong magazine, **SING OUT**. Others on bill: Rev. Gary Davis, Tony Kraber, The Harvesters. Tickets $2.30. All seats reserved.

Negro History Week Observance
METROPOLITAN MUSIC SCHOOL
Sun., Feb. 16, 2:30 p.m., 18 W. 74 St. Negro folk sources—18 & 19 Centuries. **Sidney Finkelstein, Robert Pritchard.** Guest soloist: **Raymond Soares**, prodigy of Roland Hayes, in work songs, blues, spirituals, contemporary songs. Don. 75c.

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Reception on Sat., Feb. 22, 8:30 p.m. Allerton Community Center, 683 Allerton Av., Bronx. Ammon Hennacy, Louis Weinstock, "Pop" Mindel, Herbert Aptheker. Also elaborate musical program. Refreshments. Cont.. $1. Ausp: Bronx Comm. for Civil Liberties.

SCOTT NEARING—PEOPLE'S CHINA
CORLISS LAMONT — THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL. Wed., Feb. 26, 8:30 p.m. sharp. Academy Hall, 853 B'way (nr. 14 St.) Adm. $1 in advance . . . $1.25 at door. Write for tickets to: Monthly Review Associates, 218 W. 10 St. OR 5-6939.

STUDENT-TEACHER CONFERENCE
Fri., Feb. 24 8:15 p.m.
All present and former students of Marxism are invited to meet with their teachers to discuss next steps in the planning of Marxist education.
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You are invited to celebrate
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In Story
ALPHAEUS HUNTON
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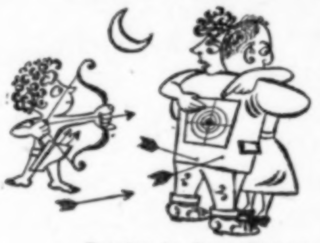
THE GALLERY

THE STRUGGLE FOR RULE of the heavens may be troubling some, but Dr. Carradine R. Hooton, genl. secy. of the Methodist Board of Temperance, is serene. In delivering the invocation at the Jan. 31 session of the U.S. Senate he began: "Everlasting Father, governor of outer space . . ." Apparently this was to reassure any Senator who still wavered after Rev. William Trice's invocation on Jan. 27 which proclaimed: "Let us be unafraid of any heavenly body save one launched by Thine infinite power." . . . Moscow reports that about 1,300 applications have been received from would-be sputnik passengers from all over the world including the U.S. . . . Baltimore Bishop Mandell Creighton believes that "socialism will only be possible when we are all perfect, and then it will not be needed."

ON FEB. 4 THE DEFENSE DEPT. took the top secret label off a report titled "Secret Flashless Weapons." Revealed was a new silent, flashless device that could kill a person at 50 yards. The project began in 1943 when the cloak-and-dagger OSS asked for a weapon that could kill sentries quietly with no powder flash to attract attention. A team of physicists, engineers, draftsmen and special consultants at Northwestern U. went to work. The first model they turned out met the general specifications but was good only at 25 yards. They went back to the drawing boards. Finally a model was devised that was just what OSS ordered: it could kill at 50 yards without a sound or a burst of light. The Dept. now reveals that the secret weapon of the atomic age we have been waiting for is—a triggered bow and arrow.


Drawing by Baro, Warsaw
"Aim higher, Dan."

THE COLD WAR BATTLE FOR BRAINS has taken a bizarre turn in England. German-born scientist Klaus Fuchs, sentenced to 14 years in prison as a Russian spy in 1950, is due for release in 18 months. The British government revoked his naturalized citizenship on his arrest. Now they fear he will rejoin his father in Leipzig in E. Germany when he is freed. Wing Commander Henry Arnold, British atomic security chief, is reported planning a visit to Fuchs in jail to urge him to remain in England. Arnold is ready to offer Fuchs a well-paying job in industry or at a university and a legal change of name. Fuchs is at Wakefield Jail where he is a model prisoner and writes scientific articles for the wall magazine.

IT MAY BE THAT the Time of the Egghead is here. There seems to be a compulsion among Americans to add degrees to their names, preferably the easy way. There also seem to be many eager to help. The St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** reported that there are 1,000 mail order "diploma mills" that will hand out degrees at the drop of a $20 bill. Many of these "colleges" flourish in Missouri where, the **Post-Dispatch** says, "a charter to start a college is as easy to get as a dog license and doesn't cost much more." It reported that for $50 you can earn the degree of "Doctor of Structural Manipulation." It may be a racket, but it almost seems worth the money to be able to throw around that title . . . The Bureau of Economics of the Federal Trade Commission is about to release a report which may explain why medical care has risen 38% since 1949. For seven years the Commission has been examining the unethical disparity between production costs and retail prices of ethical drugs (those needing prescriptions).

BY A VOTE OF TWO TO ONE Rosa Ingram was denied parole in Georgia last month. Mrs. Ingram, a Negro, was jailed with two sons in 1949 for killing a white man who had made improper advances to her. She will apply again in August . . . The Los Angeles NAACP has launched a boycott against the Budweiser brewery for its discriminatory hiring policy . . . In a debate on financing sidewalk repairs in Richmond, Calif., Councilman Leo Viano declared: "What we want is a firm policy that vacillates whenever the occasion demands." . . . The San Francisco **Chronicle** reported that sculptor Beniamino Bufano returned from Moscow in January with personal messages for President Eisenhower from Bulganin and Mao-Tse-tung. He wired Presidential press secy. Hagerty immediately asking when he could deliver them. He has still had no reply.

SEVEN AUTHORITIES ON EDUCATION will participate in a discussion on the CBS radio program **The Great Challenge** on Sun., Feb. 23. Their subject will be "Education for What?" The same question was posed and answered by Dr. Cyril Reid, chemistry professor at the U. of British Columbia, who said: "Our children learn too soon that one does not need an education to make a comfortable living." . . . The **Maroon**, U. of Chicago's campus paper, set off an animated debate by publishing a plea from a student for more socialist discussion and activity on campus . . . The new issue of **Sing Out** is available for 50c at 80 E. 11 St., N.Y. 3. In addition to words and music for folk songs from around the world, it has a column by Pete Seeger and a story by Walter Lowenfels. It also offers the news that Toshi and Pete Seeger are producing 16mm movies. The first, titled **Music From Oil Drums**, is about the steel bands of Trinidad that are now becoming popular here.

—**Robert E. Light**

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---

the SPECTATOR

Window on civilization

LONDON

FOR FOUR ROCKET-LAUNCHING bases, a £30,000,000 bill to British taxpayers was okayed last month. Across the Thames River, in an open space, a stone has been sitting since 1951 upon which was to rise Britain's National Theater. Since this would involve the mad extravagance of £1,000,000, the land of Shakespeare must put first things first and get along without.

If Britons want to patronize a national theater, they can learn Icelandic and hop a plane for Reykjavik. There, floodlit and stately in the capital of a TV-less nation calling itself "the smallest of the civilized world," they will find such a theater in its eighth year of operation, maintained by a government subsidy and a tax on movies.

Latest report on this strange land, whose 160,000 souls still measure civilization by devotion to culture, comes from the English actor-director Walter Hudd who has been staging **Midsummer Night's Dream,** Chekhov's **Cherry Orchard** and Ustinov's **Romanoff and Juliet** for the National Theater's repertoire.

THIS REPERTOIRE RANGES from grand opera to Arthur Miller's **The Crucible.** To give an idea of the Icelander's cultural obsession, Hudd cites the 25 packed performances of the **Dream** in the 800-seat theater—which means that almost every Reykjavik citizen of theater-going age went to see it.

It was one of four Shakespeare plays translated by Helgi Harfdonson, the local druggist in Husavik (pop. 1,200). The fact that their druggist is also a noted poet and scholar is "not even considered remarkable" in Husavik, Hudd reports: "It is a normal thing in Iceland, such people are everywhere." Hudd found farmers and fisherfolk almost equally well informed.

"SUCH PEOPLE ARE EVERYWHERE IN ICELAND"
Walter Hudd (l.) with druggist-poet Helgi Harfdonson

Iceland, whose living "master" is the Nobel Prize novelist Halldor Laxness (now visiting China), has a vernacular literature going back to 1100 A.D., when other Western scholars wrote in Latin. Its democratic tradition is old, strong, and by no means free of democracy's normal blemishes. But all children are raised and educated on one level, and audiences at **The Cherry Orchard,** containing words like "serf" and "peasant" for which no translation exists in Icelandic, found the play's class relationships hard to grasp.

Iceland has little but fish to export, and must even import all its wheat to make bread, but it found it had something more valuable in a cold-war world: "strategic" position. Being so endowed geographically, it has been assiduously wooed of late by both Western and Eastern powers, and has taken advantage of this for rapid modernization. Icelanders recognized delightfully their own small-country-in-the-middle problems in **Romanoff and Juliet.**

THE PEOPLE PERSIST in the conviction that, while material conditions are important, culture is more so. Thus they continue to develop their own and to import cultural influences from everywhere, just as they trade with everyone. And thus, despite the presence of Americans manning U.S. bases, Iceland's Communist Party and its press maintain a high standing as "culturally very important."

Hudd learned not to be surprised when, at some party attended by people of wealth, he would be told of a guest whom all treated with special deference: "He is one of our leading intellectuals of the CP." The notion that respect for creative artists and poets should be tempered by political or ideological considerations has penetrated but little into Iceland. Bookshops display publications from all countries.

As long as the bases remain, inviting destruction for these hardy, handsome people if ever one of the alien aeronauts should push a button by order or error, Iceland's future is as precarious as that of the larger island to the south. Meanwhile in remote Reykjavik, the crowded National Theater keeps a window open upon that part of human accomplishment which, for the farmers and fisherfolk, belongs under the heading "civilization."

—Cedric Belfrage